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NOTES AND NEWS.

A DALZIEL telegram reported ten days ago the execution of Chapekar, who was sentenced to death for the Poona murders of last June. The execution, if it has taken place, would seem to have escaped the notice of Reuter. Lord G. Hamilton also had not on April 21 received official confirmation of the news, and it has been ignored by the fire-eating section of the Press. Indeed, our Jingoes have had curiously little to say about the Poona murders ever since they discovered that no capital was to be made out of them against the educated classes of India. The confession and conviction of the illiterate Chapekar undermined the elaborate house of cards of which the Press prosecutions, the conviction of Mr. Tilak, and the deportation of the brothers Natu, were some of the most conspicuous features. Unfortunately, though even the semblance of reason for such measures has disappeared, Mr. Tilak and the brothers Natu are still detained, the new law of sedition remains in force, and the punitive police is still quartered in Poona at the expense of the inhabitants. All these measures were taken in panic-stricken haste—in the belief that, though there was at the time no evidence, some evidence might afterwards be discovered. The belief has been falsified. But the victims of panic-stricken coercion still suffer. *Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi!*

Yesterday week Sir William Wedderburn suggested to Lord George Hamilton in the House of Commons that, in present circumstances, the punitive force might well be withdrawn from Poona. But Lord George Hamilton would not assent. He did not think that "the absence of evidence of a general conspiracy in any way disproves the necessity for maintaining a special force of police." Whereupon Sir W. Wedderburn at once asked whether the punitive force was not originally placed in Poona because the murderer had not at that time been discovered. Lord G. Hamilton denied the correctness of the inference, and declared that there were "various reasons." But on Tuesday last, in reply to a further question from Sir W. Wedderburn, Lord George admitted that the reasons recorded by the Government of Bombay (this phrase, by the way, seems now to be a mere *alias* for Mr. Nugent) for imposing the force were that "the conduct of the inhabitants of Poona renders it expedient temporarily to increase the strength of the police." Intentionally vague as this record is, can any sane person doubt that it referred to the non-discovery of the assassin of Jubilee day, and indicated the theory, which Lord G. Hamilton was in such haste to announce, of a widespread conspiracy? Will any sane person suggest that, if Chapekar's guilt had at once been ascertained, the punitive force would have been imposed? The answer to these questions is the measure of the injustice of continuing a punishment which, under any circumstances, must have fallen upon guilty and innocent alike, and which, under present circumstances, is known to fall upon innocent men.

Incidentally, Lord George Hamilton permitted himself an absurd quibble about the cost of the punitive force. On March 21 (India, p. 189) he stated in the House of Commons that the force was imposed for a period of two years at a cost of 9,600 rupees a month. A not very recondite exercise in simple arithmetic would have shown him, therefore, that the total cost will be Rs. 9,600 × 24 = Rs. 230,400. This was the amount mentioned by Sir William Wedderburn in his question of Tuesday last. But Lord George triumphantly replied that the cost "is a little over Rs. 115,207, being almost exactly half the sum stated in the hon. member's question." Precisely. That is the cost up to the present time. But only one of the two years has elapsed, and if Lord George Hamilton will bring his intellect to bear upon the matter, it may be borne in upon him that, strange as it may seem, one year is "exactly half" of two years.

It would be interesting to ascertain how this punitive force came to be imposed at all. Upon this matter a correspondent, whose information seems likely to be trustworthy, writes:—"The system under which such injustice is perpetrated is legalised by an Act of the Bombay Legislature, but is probably little known in this country. The Bombay Administration itself appears to be ashamed of it, for although (as anyone who cares to search the files of the *Bombay Government Gazette* may see for himself) it is often put in operation, and no one has ever spoken of a post so established as other than 'punitive,' the junior member of Council recently, in the course of a debate, deprecated the use of the term, and actually asked that such police should be considered 'protective.' I should like to ask what there is 'protective' about the Poona force. A fanatic murdered two British officers. He has been hanged. Why fine the people of Poona for his crime? What protection is necessary? It is well known in Bombay that this foolish step was taken by a weak Government in a state of panic over the murders, and *without* consulting the local officers—the District Magistrate of Poona and the Commissioner of the divison (or group of districts) in which Poona is situated. Immediately after the murders the Government sent the District Magistrate into the city to interview the leading citizens and threaten them with the severest pains and penalties if the murderer was not surrendered to justice. After that it was thought the citizens would be granted some time for that purpose. Not at all. In a couple of days the notification appeared ordering the extra police to be quartered on the city. The District Magistrate protested. He had no reason to believe there was a conspiracy, and certainly no man had better means of information as to public feeling. The Commissioner backed him up. Both were mercilessly 'wigged.' But the Commissioner was not a man to stand bullying, and promptly told the Government that he would resign the service unless the censure was withdrawn. And withdrawn it was! The muddle was bad enough without this added disgrace of climbing down." This is a matter which seems to be well worthy of the attention of Parliament.

Sir Francis Maclean, Chief Justice of Bengal, lately presided at a meeting of the Chactanya Library in Calcutta, and is reported to have made this noteworthy remark:

> He had heard a great deal recently since coming to India of sedition and measures in connexion with it; but it seemed to him that the only rational way of putting down sedition was by sympathy, boundless sympathy, with the people in their needs and their sufferings, and with their legitimate hopes and aspirations.

This is the simple truth. But it is astonishing how incapable Anglo-Indian officials commonly seem to be of grasping it. Within the last twelve months they have given the people of India a Gagging Act, Press prosecutions, imprisonment under a semi-obsolete regulation, and plenty of abusive language of the "carrion-kite" type—everything except "sympathy, boundless sympathy." As for the "legitimate hopes and aspirations" of Indians, the fashionable doctrine stigmatises them as sedition, and provides a law to repress them. We refer to the matter

elsewhere in our leading article, "The One Thing Needful."

The letter in which Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak has conveyed from prison his gratitude to Professor Max Müller for his gift of a copy of the "Rig Veda," has been published in many Indian journals, and deserves a place here:—

Yerrowda Central Jail, near Poona.
March 23, 1898.

Dear Sir,—The Superintendent of the jail has been good enough to allow me the use of books, and I have duly received the copy (4 vols.) of the second edition of your "Rig Veda," which you kindly sent to me, through Mr. Chattopadhya and Mr. Chambers, of Bombay. I also learn from the papers that you have kindly signed the memorial for my release, addressed to the Secretary of State for India. Whatever be the result of the memorial, you have, for ever, laid me under deep obligations, so much so that I feel it impossible for me to thank you sufficiently for the same. Like every human being, I too have my share of misfortunes. But though these will soon pass away, I assure you that I can never forget the kindness and sympathy shown to me in my troubles by persons like yourself, and I shall always endeavour to prove worthy of the same. Such leisure as I get here I employ in reading the "Rig Veda," the "Brahma Sutra," and the "Gita"—the books to which I usually devoted my spare time outside. Of late, I was engaged in developing my views regarding the "Pre-Orion" period, and I hope, "Deo Volente," to complete the work soon after I get out of the present troubles. Again requesting you to accept my hearty thanks for your good wishes and kindness,—I beg to remain, yours gratefully,

Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

The thunder-bolt which the Tory Government manufactured for the London County Council has fallen on India. In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay simultaneous attempts are now being made by the authorities to restrict municipal self-government, and to vest all executive power in officials, or in individuals appointed mainly by persons other than ratepayers. In Calcutta the executive power is to be vested in a body of twelve persons, only four of whom will be elected by the ratepayers. The *Bengali* says:—

There is a general feeling abroad that the Calcutta Municipal Bill is being rushed through; and certainly some of the proceedings of the Government in connexion with it lend colour to that view. The sanction of the Secretary of State to the Bill was obtained by telegram; and when the Bill had to be read in Council, the standing rules were suspended to facilitate the progress of the Bill, despite the protest of a non-official member.

In Madras the Government is insisting on the appointment of officials as secretaries to municipalities, and all real executive power is vested in them. The *Madras Standard* points out once more that when in 1893 a proposal was made that Tehsildars, Deputy Collectors, or Munsiffs should be appointed Chairmen of Municipalities, the proposal seemed "to His Excellency the Governor in Council to be a step of a somewhat retrograde character, and although in exceptional cases the suggestion might perhaps be adopted, the Government is not disposed to accept it as a general rule." Mark, now, the change which has come over the spirit of the Administration within five years. We quote the following from the *Madras Standard:*

The Madura Municipality, in an evil hour, we should think, for itself and the rest, proceeded to avail itself of the provisions of the Act to appoint a secretary. The Act, mind, empowers the Councils to *appoint* the secretary. But the Act also empowers the Local Government to do anything and everything to set aside any and every proceeding of Municipal Councils. So the Government informed the Madura Municipality, not that its nominee was not acceptable to Government for any reason, or that for any reason he was disqualified for the office, but that the Government would rather have the Madura Council to appoint an—official. It is no exaggeration to say that this declaration of opinion on the part of Government created a feeling of consternation in the public mind. But the Government were either unaware of it or heeded it not. All the Municipal Councils which have since appointed secretaries chose only officials.

In Bombay, as we have shown before, it is proposed to organise a separate body of trustees for the improvement of the town, and this body is to be empowered to disburse municipal funds without the sanction of the ratepayers' representatives. More than this, there are rumours of a new Municipal Act. The *Champion* says:—

It is rumoured that the proposed new Act is to contain a number of clauses which will cripple the liberties and powers of the Corporation. If there is any such proposal, let it be published, let it be sent by the Government to the Corporation in a letter calling prominent attention to the proposed alterations, and let such clauses as are wise and useful be added to the Act in an amending Bill to be passed in the Bombay Legislative Council Session of twelve months hence. But let nothing be done hurriedly, without full and ample previous public discussion, or it will fail to effect any useful purpose, but rather the reverse.

As we surmised last week Mr. A. M. Bose's remarks at Manchester upon the Calcutta Municipal Bill were not quite correctly reported. Mr. Bose put the matter right in a letter which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* last Friday. The letter concluded with this appeal:—

Will public opinion and the Government of England yet step in and prevent the tide of reactionary legislation flowing on in its perilous and continuous course, as it has been doing of late, and compel the Indian Government to go back to the path of cautious but steady progress which statesmen in the past, whether Conservative or Liberal, have alike found it proper and needful to adopt?

Mr. Bose's recent meetings have been held at the following places:—April 12, Plymouth; 15, Manchester; 16, Liverpool; 17, Liverpool; 18, Oldham; 19, East Manchester; 21, Haddenham.

Mr. Beck, of Aligarh College, in Northern India, attempts to prove in the *Pioneer* that the Government of India is far the cheapest civilised government in the world—and a few other propositions of the same nature. As samples of daring and ingenious reasoning, Mr. Beck's attempts are surprising enough. But as statements of fact they are less successful. Here is a specimen. "Jute is grown," he says, quoting from a document which he does not name, "on flooded lands which would otherwise often lie untilled. Jute in short is not a rival of rice." What would those of Mr. Beck's students who come from jute-producing districts like Dacca or Maimansingh think of this statement? Nearly one-half of the district of Maimansingh, which used to grow rice, is now growing jute. Jute is there a successful rival of rice. It looks as if other objects than the mere discovery of truth sometimes influenced partisan reasoning in Anglo-India.

With regard to the trade of India Mr. Beck says: "The exports of India at the beginning of the last century were less in value than a crore of rupees. In 1840 the value of exports and imports together had risen to 20 crores. In 1892-93 it was nearly 197 crores." Then comes the astounding statement that "the wealth of the trading classes has increased in proportion." If Mr. Beck believes this, he has faith even unto the removal of mountains; and if he hopes to persuade the people of India, suffering as they do from disastrous famines every decade, to believe it, he must be endowed with an unusual share of persuasive eloquence. As every schoolboy in India knows, the great increase of India's import trade virtually means that the weaving and other industries of India have been ruined; and the great increase of exports virtually means that India has to part with a considerable amount of her food supply in order to pay for the imported articles, as well as to meet that fatal drain of twenty or thirty millions over and above the value of goods received which has been not inaptly called India's annual tribute to England. It is impossible to disguise these facts, even at Aligarh.

The *Hindu* does well to exhibit the fallacy of Sir H. Fowler's statements about land-tax in India. The land-tax, Sir Henry said, "varies from half a rupee per acre in the Central Provinces to three-fifths of a rupee per acre in the higher country." The *Hindu* writes:

In the Board's report on Land Revenue for *fasli* 1303 (1893-94), the average rates of assessment of dry and wet holdings for that year are given to have been Rs. 10.0.5 and Rs. 5.5.2 per acre respectively. Mr. Clerk has stated in his report on the Settlement of Tanjore that while the maximum wet assessment in that district is Rs. 14 per acre, it is so high as Rs. 18 and 20 in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly.

Are we to believe Sir H. Fowler's statement that the maximum rate is three-fifths of a rupee per acre on cultivated land? Or, are we to accept the statements of the assessing officers in India who make it so high as Rs. 20 per acre, against three-fifths of a rupee as declared by the great Mogul in Downing Street?

Not less amazing was Sir H. Fowler's statement that the increase in land revenue is derived solely, or mainly, from the rise of price in building lands near large towns. That an ex-Secretary of State for India should perpetrate such a proposition indicates with how much wisdom and knowledge of detail India is ruled from the India Office. Every official who has done settlement work in India knows, of course, that increase in land revenue is obtained from agricultural holdings mainly through fresh lands being

brought under cultivation, or the prices being increased. The *Hindu* asks:

> Is there any revenue which the Government derives in or about Madras from "building land"? We in India are aware of no taxation which goes into the Imperial Exchequer, and which is assessed on building land. Municipalities levy a tax on houses and house-sites, but nowhere the Government, nor do we see mention made of such an item of revenue in the reports on the revenue administration of the Province. In the report of the Board of Revenue already referred to there is no statement of such a source of income. Even if anywhere "about Madras" there be this peculiar tax on "building land," we see no reason for its inclusion in the land revenue; nor does the Board so include it. How then can the hon. members of Parliament be told that the increase of land tax in India, and a *large* increase too of it, was "derived solely from building land about Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta?"

The *Hindu* continues:—

> But the next statement is even more astounding than the first two. Sir H. Fowler has had the temerity to say in so many words that the land tax in India does not exceed 8 *per cent. of the gross produce of the crops*. We have in our former article pointed out how erroneous this is. The Government of Madras claims *one-half* of the share in that produce and bases its revenue demand on this claim.

During the recent debate on the Budget in the Viceroy's Council (upon which we comment elsewhere), two representative Indian members laid stress upon one of the main causes of wide-spread poverty among the agricultural classes in India. Mr. Chitnavis said that—

> In his opinion the poverty of the Central Provinces was due to periodical settlements, heavy assessments and the absence of direct and permanent interest of cultivators in their land. He advocated the extension of permanent settlement.

And Mr. Ananda Charlu said:—

> He thought that a radical change in the Revenue administration was necessary to bring about these results. The reform he alluded to was permanent and perpetual settlement of land revenue. This boon had been contemplated and unequivocally promised in 1863 by Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State. Not to take this promising course would look too much like determination to keep people in unprogressive subjection, debarring them from all chances and hopes of regenerating themselves on the lines on which nations bettered themselves.

The conviction is clearly growing in India that the recurring revenue settlements and the excessive assessment of land are largely responsible for poverty and famine.

As will be seen from our Parliamentary Report, Sir Michael Hicks Beach made no provision in his Budget for an Imperial contribution to the war beyond the frontier. The United Kingdom has a "prosperity Budget"—a revenue not far short of the colossal sum of £120,000,000—but it does not help famine-stricken India to bear the burden of an Imperial war. It is to be regretted that Sir Henry Fowler's remarks upon the matter were cut short by sudden illness.

The paper on "India and her Currency," which was read yesterday (Thursday) before the Indian Section of the Society of Art by Sir Edward Sassoon, was of a somewhat tentative, not to say timid, character. After a review of the recent history of currency juggling, he pronounced the establishment of "an effective gold standard with silver coins linked to it at the ratio tumbled upon by the Herschell Committee" to be likely to prove "a boon and a blessing to the country, and to her customers." To this end he set forth four propositions as indispensable, couching three of them in interrogative form "because I totally lack confidence in my ability to answer for their reaching any practical stage." The propositions are these:

> 1. There must be a certain minimum quantity of gold for a Conversion Fund.
>
> 2. Is gold likely to be attracted into India even to this small extent in the immediate future?
>
> 3. Is it not desirable to have an effective concurrent circulation of the two kinds of money?
>
> 4. Would it not be necessary to prohibit the importation of the silver metal, seeing that this uncoined metal is being used as barter in up-country districts?

Sir Edward Sassoon's own conviction in the matter, he acknowledges, is this: "that a system of international bimetallism, with due safeguards, and based upon some not unreasonable ratio, with the at least partial support and benevolent countenance of this country, seems to be the only method by which the maintenance of values can be secured, and, as a consequence, freedom from harassing financial and economic unrest." But he temporarily puts aside the controversial word "bimetallism" and (as much as possible of) the doctrine.

As to the first proposition, Sir David Barbour's estimate demands £15,000,000 as an adequate sum. The second proposition involves great uncertainties, and hardly obtainable conditions: general financial disturbance, Government pledge of perpetual exchange at fixed rate, and the obvious risks attendant thereon. The third point involves the disturbing elements of hoarding and illicit coinage; and Sir Edward thinks "such concurrent circulation would enormously obviate the risks of a shipwreck of the new policy." The fourth point—the prohibition of silver—would carry with it such grave possibilities, political as well as social, that Sir Edward is driven to negative it. A further objection to gold standard in any form is drawn from the disadvantage in which it would place India in competition with China and silver-using countries generally in point of produce and manufactured commodities. Referring to the Franco-American proposals, Sir Edward practically adopts Mr. Courtney's suggestion, and asks "whether India would not be well advised to take up the position of saying that, having thrown her lot on the 1s. 4d. basis, she would, if the French and American mints were opened at that ratio, agree to a scheme based upon the reopening of her mints whenever bar silver is maintained at the level of 42·86d. per oz.—the 1s. 4d. parity." Sir Edward would have been guilty of no irrelevance if he had gone straight to "the root of the perennial troubles" and dealt more adequately with "the part played by India's gold liabilities in the economic development of her system of currency." He has not disposed of Sir Robert Giffen yet. There is little use in talking about the financial question till the policy of extravagant war expenditure has been changed, and the gold payments reduced materially. Then the first question would be, how are the rayats affected? The blessed words, "prosperity and contentment of the great mass of the people of India," are all very well. But the bottom facts of the situation must be recognised, otherwise we shall still continue to juggle with empty words.

It is with great regret that we have to record the death of Mr. Parbati C. Roy, who, after a prolonged illness, passed away at Bournemouth on April 12. Mr. Roy, whose admirable articles on the details of many departments of Indian administration are familiar to our readers, belonged, we believed, to the well-known Zemindar family the Roys of Navagram, Manickganja, in the district of Dacca. One of the first graduates of Calcutta University, he was for a time head-master of a school. He left pedagogy to become a deputy-magistrate and collector, taking the first place in the competitive examination for the appointment. As judge, magistrate, and collector, Mr. Parbati Roy was a distinguished officer of Government. He rendered specially noteworthy service in the Survey Department. On his retirement from the Service in 1893, he was rewarded with a special pension. Mr. Roy, who was for some time a member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, was an indefatigable worker. It was in scientific and religious studies that he sought recreation. In private life he was a generous and sociable man, and he leaves a large circle of friends to mourn his loss.

We regret to learn from the Bombay papers that Mr. Maneckji Barjorji, editor and proprietor of the *Bombay Samachar*, is dead. Mr. Maneckji was what is called a self-made man, and a journalist from his youth. During the last twenty-seven years he has been editor and proprietor of the oldest Indian newspaper in the Bombay Presidency. The *Samachar* came into existence in 1812, and passed through many vicissitudes before Mr. Maneckji took it under his wing in 1871. The real success of the journal was due to its moderation, independence, and fairness, and the liberality of its policy. Every "forward" movement which sought the advancement of Indians, politically, socially, and morally, had the genuine support of Mr. Maneckji. He wrote without fear or favour. He held aloof from the public, and from his retirement was able to take a broad view of public questions. In the Annual Administration Reports the *Samachar* was praised by the authorities, such was the respect in which they held it. The journal consistently advocated Congress principles. The death of Mr. Maneckji, at the age of fifty-eight, is a loss to vernacular journalism in Western India which it will be difficult to repair.

THE INDIAN TRIBUTE.

IT is a long time since any civilised nation openly treated its colonies and dependencies as existing only for the benefit of the Mother State. In most cases such possessions are a source of expense. The Englishmen of the present century repudiate the claim, so stoutly urged by their fathers, to bind colonial trade and manufactures in the interest of England. As to our larger colonies of English blood, they are not taxed by us. They are even defended free of charge, while we accept thankfully such morsels as they may choose at their own good pleasure to throw to the watch-dog that guards them. The Empire exists, and England bears the burden thereof. So far theory and practice coincide, or rather the practice exaggerates and outruns the theory. In India, too, we boast that our rule is primarily for the Indians, or at the very least that they gain as much as we do. But here the true facts are quite different. It is true that no Indian tribute figures in the English Budget. No corn is brought from Indian ports for free distribution to the citizens of London. But, for all that, a tribute far heavier than was ever borne by a province of the Roman Empire comes year by year from the impoverished people of India to the wealthiest nation the world has ever seen. Every year the exports from India exceed the imports in value by many millions. That is to say, many millions' worth of produce is exported without any commercial return. To provide this produce thousands of acres have to be sown with jute, opium, corn and other crops saleable abroad, which might otherwise produce food for the famished people of India; and in return India receives the blessings of English government. Now, however it may be disguised, or whatever may be the advantages obtained, as John Stuart Mill has shown, (Principles of Political Economy, Bk. III, chap. 21, sec. 4) international payments for which no equivalent in commodities or money is received have all the economic effects of a tribute. Though the tribute may be received through devious channels, and though the mass of the English people gain no benefit by it, it remains in all its disastrous economic consequences a tribute paid by India to England.

It is evident even from the most cursory glance at the figures that India's exports far exceed her imports. Let us take the year 1895-1896, in order to avoid the year 1896-1897, rendered exceptional by the famine. Deducting Government stores, mere dead weight which cannot be set against exports of the same value, we have for the sea-borne merchandise and treasure during the year:—

Exports.................	Rx. 118,522,951
Imports.................	Rx. 82,684,380
Excess of Exports....	Rx. 35,838,571

Thus, of the total sea-borne trade, exports were more than 58 per cent. and imports less than 42 per cent., or the exports constituted nearly three-fifths of the whole. This calculation relates only to the sea-borne trade, for the trade by land is relatively unimportant—some nine millions as compared with two hundred and one millions—and though there is an excess of imports it is less than Rx. 740,000, and may therefore be neglected in a comparison. If instead of one year, the five years 1890-1896 are taken, the excess of exports for that period is Rx. 154,979,804, or an annual average of Rx. 30,995,960, somewhat less than the year we have chosen, but in the year 1894-1895 it was even greater, for then the excess was Rx. 37,292,426. It will not be difficult by looking into the matter more closely to show that the real loss to India is immensely greater.

For, to take only two points into consideration, it will be noticed (1) how great a part of the imports consists of treasure, in which item they exceed the exports by over nine millions in the year. Were it not for this, the excess of exports would be vastly greater even than it is, in fact would be over forty-four millions. But of this imported treasure a part is the product of loans, and is sent to India to pay those engaged on public works, or for other purposes. It is thus borrowed money, and the interest on it will have to be sent to England, and will therefore swell the exports in succeeding years. It is, therefore, only in appearance that treasure borrowed and imported balances exports to the same value. It merely defers exportation to the future; and thus the real excess of exports is even greater than the figure we first arrived at. And (2) we must take into account the loss occasioned to a country paying tribute through its having to force its commodities on the market by offering them at a lower price. As John Stuart Mill puts it:—

> The result is, that a country which makes regular payments to foreign countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something more, by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its productions for foreign commodities.

And again:—

> The paying country will give a higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country, while the latter, besides receiving the tribute, obtains the exportable produce of the tributary country at a lower price.

So that the large sum already reached is far from being a true measure of India's tribute and India's loss.

How, then, does it come to pass that, although no direct tribute appears as paid by India, so great a sum leaves the country year by year? Through what channels, or under what pretences, does it find its way to England? Well, for the year 1895-1896, the expenditure of the Indian Government in England was over twenty-seven millions in tens of rupees. This sum included (1) the interest on the Indian debt and on the capital expended in railways and other public works; (2) the charges for the India Office, recruiting, etc., etc.; (3) civil and military pensions; and (4) the pay and allowances of those in Europe on furlough. There still remains (5) a fifth item, not included in this sum of twenty-seven millions, and that is the private remittances of Englishmen in India for their families or for investment. This alone was estimated twenty-five years ago at no less than twenty millions. It must be noted that the savings of English officials in India have a totally different economic effect from those made by Indians, who both invest in the country and spend the interest there. If the English official invests his savings in India, when he leaves the country or dies, the interest is paid to him or his heirs in Europe. If, on the other hand, he takes his savings with him for investment out of India, the money is lost to India at once. In either case, sooner or later, in one bite or in many, it goes to form part of the tribute that India pays to England.

What, then, does India gain in return for all these heavy payments? The blessings of English government and English protection, reply the advocates of the present system. But there are some blessings which can be bought at too dear a price. Let it be granted that the English government of India is as good as its fondest admirers have ever claimed, as near perfection as it is possible for earthly institutions to be. It is nevertheless true that this enormous drain, year by year, would be too much for the richest nation in the world to support, that it is ruinous to so poor a country as India, and that no foresight or skill in administration would enable it to be borne. This is what makes all comparisons between the taxation of India under its former and its present rulers so idle. The revenue of the Moguls was not economically a tribute. It was spent in the country by rulers who made that country their home. Of our revenue no small part is carried away to be spent in Europe. The whole thing is an economic monstrosity, and our government, whatever may be its excellences, cannot continue on its present basis. Either it must become less expensive and must involve a less onerous tribute, or it will fall by the very incapacity of the country to support it. Government and people will fall together. The drain on India, if it is continued, must end in the economic ruin of the country.

THE ONE THING NEEDFUL.

THE farewell demonstrations in honour of Colonel Creagh, the President of the Plague Committee at Poona, indicate once more the value of tact, personal consideration, and sympathy in dealing with Indians. General Gatacre earned the like expression of regard in Bombay last year. It is pitiful to see how completely Lord George Hamilton misunderstands, or affects to imply that Sir William Wedderburn misunderstands, the meaning of these demonstrations. In a question which we reported last week Sir William drew attention to "the good feeling and harmony now established in Poona as the result of Colonel Creagh's sympathetic administration," and asked whether the Secretary of State would not now consider the release of the Natu brothers. Lord George cited in his reply a sentence from the head of the Munici-

pality to this effect: "Of the soldiers and the valuable services rendered by them to the city, and their kind behaviour towards the poor Natives whose houses they helped in searching and whitewashing, I cannot speak too eulogistically." And he went on to show that he attributed the new feeling of harmony, not to the character and conduct of Colonel Creagh, but to the absence of the Natu brothers from the scene. Anything more gratuitous and wrong-headed it would be difficult to conceive. But this is how India is now being governed from Whitehall.

Lord George Hamilton must, we suppose, go his own perverse way. If he, the Secretary of State, chooses to parade arguments *per saltum*, to say nothing of petty spite, there are happily others who do know something of Indian characteristics as exhibited in history. Those for whom history has lessons know and lament the grave deterioration of British officials within the generation succeeding the Mutiny. Nothing is more marked than the change that has come over the attitude of all but the finest characters towards the Natives of the country; for it is impossible to believe that the change lies, not in the British officers, but in the Indians themselves. You cannot read the biography of any of the men who have distinguished themselves in the service of the East India Company without remarking how closely they identified themselves with Indian welfare and Indian aspirations. In times when the security of such officers, as well as the security of the Government, was incomparably less assured than it is now, our men did not breathe out contempt for the "Natives," but on the contrary expressed the highest opinion of their qualities and pleaded for larger room for their development. In the recently published biography of Colonel Jervis there are numerous references to this all important consideration. What, according to Jervis, was then "the secret of managing the Natives in India"? Why, this: "to treat them as they are—as intelligent, open to reason, and perfectly reconciled to any reasonable purpose made plain to their understandings." Will Lord George Hamilton tell us what reason there can possibly be why they should be treated otherwise? John Bull is a strong fellow, not much troubled with nerves; and he is apt to forget that the strong arm is not always the most efficient weapon he might use. What has been the bottom cause of all this recent trouble at Poona and in Bombay? Plainly this—that officials have not exhibited a purpose made plain to the understandings of the Indians as reasonable.

When Lord George Hamilton cites a laudation of the soldiers at Bombay, he should take in connexion with it the remark of Mr. Lowson, the Plague Commissioner, that "the way the soldiers conduct themselves generally depends on the ability of their leader to keep them in order." And he should know, if he does not, that they will hardly bear themselves in a sympathetic and humane manner unless they have the marked example and direction of their leader firmly impressed on their minds. Not that they mean to be unkind; it is more a question of manner and appreciation than of deliberate feeling. Lord George Hamilton ought to know also that Lord Sandhurst was warned, a fortnight before the riots, of the danger of employing British soldiers, but held on to the trumped-up allegation of "influential wire-pulling," and regarded the most honest adverse criticism as a mark of disaffection. "The present tendency of the official mind," writes one of our correspondents, "not to give any heed to what the people say, is sure to result in outrages." Of course it is. And the basis of that tendency is official ignorance of the real feeling of the people, and the monstrous official contempt for the people. "The Government," our correspondent proceeds, "is really well-intentioned; but the people at large are driven to believe otherwise by the conduct or apathy of some officials." How could it be otherwise? The first necessity of the Government of Bombay is to deal firmly, not merely with inferior servants, but with all subordinates from top to bottom. Otherwise, Government must put up with the blame. The essential want is a free spirit of just consideration for every man equally, whatever the colour of his skin.

In a social matter of this nature, the upper influences by way of example are certain to run down through all the strata of the community. It lies with the Governor-General personally to set the tone: *Noblesse oblige*. Let us take a case that has been already made public:

"Some little time antecedent to Lord Northbrook's arrival," said Mr. Eden, "there had arisen from some cause or other a condition of coldness and restraint in the relations between Europeans and Natives, and a general want of mutual confidence and good feeling, which was much deplored and regretted by thinking men of both classes. But I observed that year by year, after Lord Northbrook's arrival, this state of things vanished away; and I believe that this was mainly due to the personal example of courtesy and consideration which Lord Northbrook set in all matters of communication and intercourse with Natives. I know, and I can say it most confidently, that the educated Native gentlemen of Bengal were much impressed and influenced by the unvarying courtesy with which he treated them, and with the calm, patient justice with which he considered all matters connected with them."

In like manner may be cited the example of Lord Lawrence. On one occasion—the story is related by Mr. Bosworth Smith in his biography—a young officer in the army, who was talking, "after the manner of his kind," contemptuously of the Indians, happened, in Sir John Lawrence's hearing, to speak of them as "those niggers." "I beg your pardon," said Sir John, "of what people were you speaking?" The rebuke was most apt and effective. Before now, in these columns, we have quoted Lord Lawrence's counsel "to be just *and kind* to the natives of India." We pride ourselves on our justice; we are too apt to neglect the kindness. Let us cite Mr. Bosworth Smith's remark on this memorable utterance, in order to see how precisely Lawrence had touched the mainspring of Native feeling. "When, as his parting counsel, as the last of his last words, he urged his countrymen 'to be just and kind to the natives of India,' his words were received with a storm of long-continued and earnest cheering, such as one who had been present at many public gatherings in Calcutta, from the days of Lord Dalhousie downwards [Dr. George Smith, Editor of the *Friend of India*], declared that he had never before witnessed." The popularity of Lord Ripon, too, rested essentially on the fact that the people knew his heart was with them—that he was "just *and kind*."

The influence of military feeling in the highest ranks is especially important, not only in its bearing on the lower ranks, but also in its bearing on civilians. Unhappily there is too much truth in the caustic expression of Mr. Bosworth Smith on the young officer who was reproved by Lord Lawrence: he said this young man's speech was "after the manner of his kind." A generation ago Sir Henry Durand wrote as follows:—

I am not much astonished at the tone of the European officers, when I hear what some of the general officers here say of India. The mass of officers will take their tone from their superiors; and when that tone is in contempt of everything in and connected with India, it will be echoed by the many who follow the cue given them by their seniors. At the same time, bearing in mind what a bore everything Indian is considered in England, it cannot be matter of wonder that general officers sent out by the Horse Guards to make a purse on the staff out here, and as deeply imbued with the idea that everything Indian is a bore and a nuisance as are their friends at home, should seem to have no other interest in their duties or the country than the amount they can save whilst in India, not the highest possible view to take of their calling.

Yet the great men, military or civil, who live and shine in the history of India, have looked at the "Natives" with very different eyes. True, these were men who never thought of "a purse," except with contempt; men whose highest glory was the most earnest performance of duty. "The main evil of our system," wrote Sir Thomas Munro, "is the degraded state in which we hold Natives. We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument. We confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence, and even these are left in their hands from bare necessity, because Europeans are utterly incapable of filling them. We treat them as an inferior race of beings." Join with this indignant protest the generous confidence shown by one of the greatest of our Indian warriors, Sir Charles Napier:—

We must mix with the people, give them justice, give them riches, give them honours, give them share in all things until we blend with them, and become one nation. When a half-caste or a full Native can be Governor-General, we shall not hold India as a colony or conquest, but be part inhabitants, and as numerous as will be required to hold it as our own.

But the best expression of the right tone was given by Sir James Outram, so happily and so justly designated by Sir Charles Napier "the Bayard of India":—

If to anything in myself I owe such success as I may have attained it is mainly to this—that throughout my career I have loved the people of India, regarded their country as my home, and made their weal my first object. And though my last service in the field was against the comrades of my old associates, the madness of a moment has not obliterated from my mind the fidelity of a century, and I can still love and still believe.

The example of Outram may well serve for any man. Were his magnanimous words engraven on the minds of British officers and civilians in India, how indescribably happier would India and England be! The spirit that domineers mistakes rudeness for strength. It is only the spirit of sympathy that can make England really strong in India.

A LESSON IN FAMINE FINANCE.

THE full text of the Indian Financial Statement has now reached us. In our issue of March 25 we dealt with the telegraphic summary which was then published, and in the article printed below we deal with the debate in the Viceroy's Council. Here we content ourselves with two observations upon the text of this more than usually long and complicated official document.

Our first (1) observation is this. In paragraph 19 Sir James Westland sets out with some wealth of detail "the total cost direct and indirect of the famine" as estimated by the Government of India. That estimate shows a total cost for the two famine years (1896-7 and 1897-8) of 14½ crores, of which little more than half is put down as "spent on Famine Relief." The rest is made up of liberal estimates of "Loss of Revenue," "Remissions," "Loss of Railway Receipts," "Charges for Dear Provisions," etc., etc., in short, of various sums which do credit to the resourceful imagination of the Finance Minister, but which, being estimates, do not carry conviction to the non-official mind. Obviously these estimates are mostly fanciful. Not only is there no guarantee of their correctness, or even of their approximate reasonableness, but the logic of facts seems to be hopelessly against them. It would, no doubt, be too summary to argue that the mere fact that they emanate from Sir James Westland disentitles them to serious consideration. Yet one remembers that he was the Finance Minister who on a previous occasion provoked the sense of humour among people acquainted with Indian finance, by his conversion, over a series of years, of Indian expenditure into sterling to show through the medium of a falling rupee that, though taxation was steadily increasing, the Government of India was spending less than formerly. And has he not once more revealed his disposition to play at figuring in his recent 20 years' review of Indian Finance—a review which excited the disapprobation of the *Times* and the reprobation and distrust of almost every important organ of the Press? But we base our scepticism of these fanciful figures of loss of revenue, etc., on surer grounds. Appended to the Financial Statement is a Table "E" giving the net revenue, as it is called, for the years 1896-7 (Accounts), 1897-8 (Revised estimate) and 1898-9 (Budget estimate). This table corresponds in form with Sir Henry Fowler's return of net income and expenditure, recently issued as a Parliamentary paper, to which we referred a fortnight ago. From these figures we construct the following table:

NET REVENUE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
1894-5 to 1898-9.
In crores of Rupees.

	'94-5 (A/cs)	'95-6 (A/cs)	'96-7 (A/cs)	'97-8 (Rev. Est.)	'98-9 (Budget)
Land ..	24·3	25·1	22·8	24·8	26·4
Forest ..	1·6	1·6	1·7	1·8	1·7
Tribute ..	·8	·8	·9	·8	·9
	26·7	27·5	25·4	27·4	29·0
Opium ..	5·7	5·0	3·9	2·9	2·7
Taxation ..	27·8	29·6	28·5	28·9	29·4
Miscell. ..	·5	·4	·5	·3	·3
Total ..	60·7	62·5	58·3	59·5	61·4

Now the points in this table, taken from official figures, are interesting. Taking the average of the two years 1894-5 and 1895-6 as the natural yield of the so-called "net" revenue, *i.e.*, 61·6 crores, we find that in the two famine years the total by which the revenue fell short was only 3·2 crores in 1896-7, and 2·1 crores in 1897-8. In 1898-9 the Government has already got back to the normal before the famine. In other words, the aggregate loss of revenue in the two bad years was only 5·3 crores, according to this view of the matter. And there is a further remarkable point. Of these 5·3 crores no less than 1·4 crores in 1896-7, and 2·4 crores in 1897-8, are due to the shrinkage in the opium revenue—a matter apparently unconnected with the famine, or at least so little connected with it as to call for no specific mention from Sir James Westland, though he is casting about for any and every pretext to prove loss of revenue through the famine. Therefore, out of the two years' loss of revenue of 5·3 crores as compared with what may be taken to be the normal, no less than 3·8 crores are due to causes with which famine had little or nothing to do. This computation leaves only 1½ crores in the two famine years as the measure of the revenue deficiency under heads which might be affected by famine. How, then, is it possible to regard Sir James Westland's estimate of nearly 7 crores as other than imaginary and misleading? Let it be noted, too, how the land revenue fares during these five years. If we again take the average of 1894-5 and 1895-6 as the normal, *i.e.*, 24·7, what room do the figures leave for these much-paraded remissions? A drop of less than 2 crores in 1896-7, and in 1897-8 an increase! In 1898-9 the increase becomes a record collection! So much for the repeated claims of the Government that it has been tender with the taxpayer in his years of trouble.

The other observation we wish to make, or rather to emphasise, for we have made it before, is (2) with regard to the bonus which exchange has given the Government of India during this time of trial; of which we find but scant acknowledgment in the long document before us. We have now the exact figures, so that we can supplement our former remarks on this aspect of Indian finance with confidence. Again referring to Sir Henry Fowler's return, we find that the net cost of exchange on sterling transactions (omitting exchange compensation and the charges involved in the sterling pay of the British troops) was Rx. 12,900,000 in 1894-5. According to paragraph 125 of the current Financial Statement, this charge was only Rx. 10,500,000 for 1897-8, and Rx. 9,100,000 for 1898-9, representing savings on this part only of the cost of exchange of 2·4 and 3·8 crores respectively—far more than enough to wipe out the deficiency of revenue, which could with any plausibility be attributed to the famine.

Here, then, are two fairly simple aspects of Indian Famine Finance, which might with advantage occupy Sir James Westland's ingenious mind when next he goes about constructing his fanciful tables. Instead of *a priori* assumptions of natural annual increase of revenue—upon which his estimates of loss by famine for a given year must ultimately rest—we would humbly suggest that he might examine actual results and base his supposed losses on those and those alone. Then let him, however reluctant he may now be to talk about exchange, set out what one turn of fortune's wheel has given him as a set-off to her spite in another direction. The exercise might not sober him. But it would be vastly instructive to the public.

THE PEEVISHNESS OF SIR JAMES WESTLAND.

MR. SAYANI'S speech was the best of all the speeches in the debate on the Indian Financial Statement in the Viceroy's Council. We do not know whether it was for this reason that Sir James Westland, in his singularly unconvincing reply, went out of his way to be rude to the Ex-President of the Indian National Congress. Sir James Westland said: "I cannot help thinking that the honourable member for the moment had forgotten what his audience was." And then, instead of attempting a reply, the Finance Minister began to beat the official drum. Certain statements of Mr. Sayani's, he suggested, might win applause with other audiences, "but in the Legislative Council of His Excellency the Governor-General he is addressing officers of the Government and non-official gentlemen who know that the statements are utterly overcoloured, if not the contrary of the truth, and who do not render him that applause which in other audiences he may seek." This sort of horseplay is both unseemly and futile. Sir James Westland complained of Mr. Sayani's frequent phrase "it is admitted." But Sir James Westland was no less assuming when he said that the members of the Council "know" Mr. Sayani's statements to be exaggerated if not false. The Finance Minister, however, does not shine as a debater, and we must not judge his remarks by too exacting a standard. Let us rather examine some of the statements which caused him so much irritation.

In his opening sentences Mr. Sayani reminded Lord Elgin that at the previous Budget meeting he more than hinted that the Government would not be satisfied with tiding over the famine. They had in their minds certain "reforming legislation" for "ameliorating" the condition of the people. "Our programme of work has been laid out," the Viceroy had said. Upon which, as a gentle reminder—for Viceroys have so many things to think about—Mr. Sayani pertinently observed: "I hope that, the programme having been laid out more than a year ago, it has by now been well advanced 'in sympathy for the people' and 'in earnest wish for improving the conditions under which they live.'" We fear that Mr. Sayani was a little sarcastic. But can any reasonable man say that the reminder was not needed? And what had Lord Elgin to say in answer to the challenge? Why, of course, the invariable: "I think he (*i.e.*, Mr. Sayani) did not quite appreciate what I then said." Precisely. Official utterances are never quite appreciated by mere outsiders. They never mean just what the average human understanding takes them to mean, or indeed what the ordinary interpretation of language would make them mean. What the Viceroy and Governor-General of India had meant to say—careful man—was that he "hoped something might be done to pave the way" for this reforming legislation. For the rest he had only to say "that we have been still paving the way." These officials are incorrigible. Have they not sufficiently paved their official paradise yet? Are we never to get beyond this paving stage? At first we admired their good intentions. But that was long ago. And now we are rather tired of watching.

With regard to the frontier war Mr. Sayani had a plain word to say. "We must insist strongly upon the fact that it is not an Indian war but an Imperial aggression, and as such must be dealt with by England. It is in fact a direct and aggressive action of British Imperialism." We fancy we have met with this comment before, and that it has won applause from audiences at which even Sir James Westland would not venture to sneer. Even the Government of India in its saner moments has urged some such plea as this. Witness the extract from the Government of India's despatch of March 25, 1890, quoted at page 213 of our issue of April 8 last, and referred to by Mr. Sayani in his speech. Was it this that made Sir James Westland so peevish? Turning then to the Budget figures, Mr. Sayani pointed out—what is indeed a truism, but one that still requires frequent emphasis—that the boasted surplus estimated in the current financial year will only be arrived at by means of sundry large loans. "It is clear, therefore," he said, "that there is no real surplus, but that a surplus has been arrived at by adding to the Permanent Debt a very heavy item." Incidentally, we may observe, Sir Griffith Evans, looking at the matter from another point of view, had previously remarked in this same debate, with cruel candour, that "the surplus is based on an anticipated exchange of 1s. 3⅝d." No wonder the harassed Finance Minister viewed these comments with a jaundiced eye. What! his surplus—the product of his skill (*vide* official eulogium *passim*)—a paltry sham made possible by loans, or a chance foundling the offspring of that wayward parent Exchange! Perish the thought! These are "utterly over-coloured" statements, "if not the contrary of truth."

Finally, dealing with that wonderful review of twenty years of Indian finance, which has excited in equal measure the amusement and the contempt of all well-informed critics, Mr. Sayani said: "A review of the financial policy of any period—and especially of a period embracing two decades—must exhibit, if it is to have any seriously informing character, not only the growth of income and expenditure and of debt, but the extent to which the situation has been affected by changes in taxation." "If it is to have any seriously informing character." The "if" was essential. The review was not intended to have any "seriously informing character." It was a razor made to sell—a calculation meant to catch the unwary, and to conceal the desperate shifts of loan and tax to which the Government of India is continually driven while it discharges to its own well-advertised satisfaction—and to the unfortunate taxpayer's progressive spoliation—the task of "paying its way." Everybody knows that this ingenious essay was expressly designed to ward off an Imperial contribution to the cost of the war beyond the frontier, and unfortunately it served its turn. For a piece of special pleading which does not convince—at least not in the sense intended—commend us to Sir James Westland's review of taxation in reply to Mr. Sayani's remarks. Whatever may have been the case 20 years ago, the broad fact remains that during the last decade the Government of India has *not* paid its way. But it has resorted to loan after loan, to increased taxation, and especially to enormous enhancements of land revenue in all directions.

LAND REVENUE POLICY IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.—I.

By G. Vencataratnam.
(*President, Godavari District Association.*)

THE Presidencies of Bengal and Madras were acquired under circumstances which have ever since continued to influence their revenue systems. Bengal acquired at once the dominion of rich and fertile provinces, yielding a revenue much beyond its wants. It was satisfied with what it got from the zemindars without entering into any minute examination of the assessment, and left them in possession of the land on very easy terms. Madras, on the contrary, rose amidst poverty, and could scarcely make both ends meet. It acquired its territories by slow degrees, partly from the Nizam, but chiefly from Mysore, and though the assessment had already been raised too high by those Governments, its own pressing necessities did not permit it to lower the demand, but forced it to enter into the most rigid scrutiny of the sources of the revenue in order to keep it up; and there has, in consequence, always been a pressure upon the rayats which nothing but necessity could justify. The position when the revision of the settlement was first contemplated in Madras is thus described by the Board of Revenue:

> When the revision of the assessment throughout the Presidency was undertaken in 1855 the avowed expectation was that there would be a large sacrifice of existing revenue. The assessments then were, as a rule, too high for the rayats to pay and prosper; and there were anomalies and inequalities in almost every district repressive of agricultural enterprise and prosperity. It was then determined, after due consideration, that the demand of the State should be limited to a share of the produce calculated on certain established principles.

The rates of assessment fixed at the settlement were to be equal to half the net produce of the soil, after allowing for cost of cultivation. In Bombay no such standard was fixed. The foundation of the Bombay assessment was to be the amount of assessment paid by each tract in times when the people considered themselves to have been well governed. The result was that the assessment in Bombay turned out to be light as compared with that in Madras. To reduce the assessment in Madras to the level of Bombay would involve the State in a loss of several lakhs of rupees. The disastrous results of the Madras system are seen in the present day, in so much as 3½ millions of acres of assessed land lying waste and unprofitable to the State; in the eviction of thousands of rayats every year in order to realise the revenue; and in the ridiculously small prices for which the Government itself is obliged to buy the land for want of bidders in the auction. In the face of these facts, one would have expected the local Government to embark on a policy of moderation and clemency in the revisions of assessments now carried on; but, on the contrary, we find just the opposite tendency on the part of the Government. The old policy has been entirely reversed, and according to Section VIII of the Settlement Manual, as lately amended, "the principles upon which the revision of settlement should be conducted when the term of currency expires cannot be decisively affirmed beforehand. The question of re-settlement of each district must be left to be dealt with as it arises." The corresponding standing order of the Board of Revenue says:—

> On the expiry of the said period, the Government reserves to itself the right to revise the assessment in such manner as may *then* seem just and proper either with reference solely to a rise or fall in prices, or with reference also to other considerations, such as would require re-classification of soils or a re-calculation of the out-turns.

Re-classification of soils is nothing less and nothing more than taxation of rayat's improvements. Periodical revisions under such conditions will only become synonymous with all that is irritating, burdensome, and demoralising. In the words of the Madras Agricultural Committee, "a re-valuation of soils at each recurring revision would be fatal to improvement." Sir Louis

Mallet has very wisely observed that the uncertainty, much more than the actual weight of the assessment of the periodical settlements, was chiefly to blame for the backward state of the country. The magic touch of property alone will call forth the resources of the soil. Fixity of tenure more than any other measure will enable the people to resist famine. The character of the tenure is of more vital importance in India than in countries where there are other fields of employment for the masses.

The land revenue in the Madras Presidency consists of two heads, one practically permanent and not liable to enhancement, and the other fluctuating. The first head comprises the *peshcash* on permanently settled estates, and the quit-rents on *inam* villages and on *inam* lands found interspersed with *rayatwari* lands in *rayatwari* villages. The permanently settled estates in Madras cover an area of nearly one-third of the whole area of the Presidency, and the tenant population therein forms nearly one-fourth of the total agricultural population. The revenue payable to Government on the *zemindari* and *inam* lands is fixed, except that, where unirrigated lands are irrigated by water derived from Government works newly constructed, a separate water rate is charged. The second head comprises lands held on *rayatwari* tenure which are subject to periodical revisions of assessment. Comparing the *rayatwari* with the *zemindari* tenure the Famine Commissioners say:

> What is really essential is security of tenure, and neither tenure has in this respect any marked superiority over the other; under both the landholder may secure all that is necessary in respect of fixity of holding and of land revenue payment over considerable periods of time, and he is thus enabled to feel perfect security in respect of his position, and to rely on being repaid for any judicious outlay he may incur on improvements.

Is uncertainty as to the principles of re-settlement consistent with the security of tenure, with which the *rayatwari* tenure—as understood in the Madras Presidency—has, from time immemorial, been credited? In the Madras administration report of 1855-56, *rayatwari* is thus explained:—

> Under the *rayatwari* system, every registered holder of land is recognised as its proprietor and pays direct to Government. He is at liberty to sub-let his property, or to transfer it by gift, sale, or mortgage. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the *fixed* assessment, and has the option annually of increasing or diminishing his holding, or of entirely abandoning it. In unfavourable seasons, remissions of assessment are granted for entire or partial loss of produce. The rayat, under this system, is virtually a proprietor on a simple and perfect title, and has all the benefits of a perpetual lease without its responsibilities, inasmuch as he can at any time throw up his lands, but cannot be ejected so long as he pays his dues: he receives assistance in difficult seasons, and is not responsible for the payment of his neighbours.

A similar description was given to the House of Commons by the Home Government in 1857. The Board of Revenue also affirmed the same in a report submitted to Government in 1857 on the survey and settlement operations. In reviewing the Hon. Mr. Rickett's report in 1857, the Government of Madras emphasised it in the following terms: "The proprietary right of a rayat is perfect, and as long as he pays the *fixed* assessment on his land, he can be ousted by no one; there is no principle of *rayatwari* management more fixed or better known than this, and the Government deny that any right can be more strong." The object of survey and settlement was not to curtail or destroy, but to consolidate and confirm existing rights and privileges, to substitute for an uncertain, variable and often arbitrary demand, a fixed, permanent, and moderate assessment in money, and to remove the interference of a host of revenue officers.

THE EUROPEAN IN INDIA.

AN Indian correspondent writes:—It is a matter for anxious enquiry by English statesmen why the European is not now loved in India. There was a time when Europeans were considered more than human beings by the natives of India, such was their esteem for them. This continued up to the time of Lord Ripon's departure from India, but a change came soon after. Lord Ripon's carriage was followed by millions of Natives in Calcutta when he took leave of that city. The demonstration was repeated in Bombay and in every place he passed through. Lord Dufferin, however, who succeeded Lord Ripon, set aside the policy of his predecessor, and in this he found the warm support of the Civil Service, whom the Ripon Government's Ilbert measure had offended beyond endurance. The new policy which Lord Dufferin inaugurated was the turning point in Indian history. It was unfortunately so successful that only a few years afterwards in the very streets of Calcutta, where the European when he passed was formerly blessed and welcomed, he came to be cursed and abused. During the Shambazar riot, the cry of the mob was "Down with the European," and not only men but European ladies also suffered. In Bombay the rioters, who had taken possession of the town a few days ago, killed and assaulted Europeans. During the late Nasik riot, also, I hear, Europeans suffered injuries. Whenever there is an outbreak, no matter why, the European is an object of attack. Why should such a state of things prevail? Why should all Europeans not be loved? It is not the case that the Indians have become bereft of the capacity for affection. Sir Antony MacDonnell is a European, and he is loved greatly by the people. The people of the N.-W. Provinces will go into mourning the day Sir Antony's term expires.

But why Sir Antony only? Why should not Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lord Sandhurst and every other European official be loved and respected? The reply is not far to seek. It is sympathy and sympathy alone in which the officials of the present day are wanting. They think that the Native is their rival. He gets up his Congress and agitates for Civil Service Simultaneous Examinations. He comes into the Legislative Council and makes speeches condemning their administration. He puts questions in Council and makes awkward exposures in the Press. These are among the causes which have combined to make the average European the enemy of the Native. And he does not care for the goodwill of the Natives, because he knows he has not to live among them. He is a bird of passage, and the days of his old age will not see him in India.

He thinks that he can work his will upon the Native, and as a result the feeling between the officials and the people is sorely estranged. The majority of non-official Europeans here tend to think that the white official is their powerful brother, and the Native a weak black man. So they call the latter "nigger," and side with officialdom. Of course there are honourable exceptions, even among officials, but their number is one in a hundred. The remaining ninety-nine are opposed to Native aspirations, and some even inflict wanton injury. Thus, Sir Edwin Collen, from his safe position in the Council Chamber, suggested that Indian women did not value their chastity, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie fiercely attacked educated Natives. It is the Native Press, the Native lawyer, and the Municipal Commissioner that give most trouble to an official. So the Native Press has been gagged, the law examination has been made the stiffest of all examinations, and the Municipal Commissioners have almost everywhere been placed under the Executive. To crown all, the fountain of all these miseries has been choked. High education has been discouraged, grants to educational institutions have in many places been either withdrawn or curtailed. The schools and colleges, although a source of income, have been put almost out of the reach of the middle class Native. The tuition and examination fees have been doubled.

Now, are such things viewed with favour by the high and responsible authorities? By a strange fatality, India has not had either a strong Viceroy or Secretary of State for a long time. The British people are therefore primarily responsible for this state of things. The officials are paid to secure the protection and the well-being of the people, and not for standing in opposition to their interests and wishes. What are, then, the remedies? it may well be asked. The remedy is to punish erring officials, and to give the Natives some powers in the administration of their own country. This can be done either by granting them Simultaneous Civil Service Examinations, or, if the Indian Civil Service is to be kept a close preserve for Europeans, by reverting to the old Haileybury system. The present system has grievously failed, and the sooner it is altered the better for the reputation and stability of the British Government, and the prosperity and contentment of the Indian people.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

BY OUR OWN ONLOOKER.

THE Budget comes but once a year, and it is well that this is so. There is something bewildering and demoralising about all this talk of millions, of gigantic revenues and monstrous expenditures. It is impossible to give anything like an adequate notion in a sketch, of what Sir Michael Hicks Beach's speech (which fills five columns in the *Times*) was all about. These details may, however, be of interest. In the year just concluded the total revenue raised by the State was £116,016,000. The Chancellor was in very high spirits about this. Everything had done well, beer and spirits, tea, and cocoa, and he pronounced a touching benediction upon cocoa, which he declared to be very good. Customs and excise were both buoyant. Tobacco had done almost fabulously well. The Post Office returns were good, and stamps of all sorts had done well; the mere penny stamp having produced £1,400,000. But—and there was a significance about this which the House did not fail to catch—the most

remarkable point in connexion with the year's finance was the splendid return from death duties. The Liberals cheered, and Sir William Harcourt smiled. They had not forgotten the Tory denunciations when these death duties were devised by Sir William in 1894. The party which assailed the iniquity of the tax in those days finds the results of that iniquity very convenient to-day. I was reminded of those good old days at another stage in the speech. I remember that when Sir William Harcourt added another sixpence a barrel on beer nearly the whole Tory party raised an outcry as though an impious hand had been laid upon the ark of the covenant. But on April 21 Sir Michael poked fun at the brewers, saying they were lucky mortals and were doing remarkably well —and the Tories laughed at these irreverent jibes. The expenditure for next year is estimated at £116,007,000, of which the Chancellor had to provide £106,829,000. This is £5,038,000 more than the original Budget estimate of last year. Sir Michael, half in jest and half in earnest, pointed out that economy is unpopular in these days. He enlarged two years ago upon the theme, and Sir William Harcourt agreed, but no one else took the slightest notice. His colleagues ignored his remarks just as though they had been delivered in church. One service vies with another, and one member with another in urging the Government to spend. Sir Michael said, "Where all this will end I don't know." I believe he could have added truthfully, "and I don't care," for he seemed to regard the whole thing as a joke.

Of course he had to describe the funny or futile suggestions made by various correspondents as to new taxes. As it happens he does not want new taxes, but the suggestions came—or he says they did. Somehow or other I half suspect that these humorous little touches are put in by some wag of a secretary to relieve the gloom of the solid figures. One man said "tax foreign matches," another, "tax dogs out of existence;" another, "tax titles heavily;" and another proposed a stiff tax on bookmakers, jockeys, and racehorses. On the other hand, one correspondent suggested that out of the gigantic surplus the debt on a Presbyterian church he was interested in could be wiped off. Chancellors are always very artful in keeping their audience in the dark to the very end of the speech about any changes in taxation. This is done in order to hold the audience, for otherwise the peroration would be delivered to empty benches. Sir Michael created quite a flutter by saying that he meant to reduce taxation slightly. He soon let the House know that the income-tax will be eased somewhat to the poorer payers, and that the legacy and succession duties will be readjusted. But the main reduction was to be in indirect taxation. He showed that there are four main articles from which this revenue is obtained—beer, spirits, tea, and tobacco. Beer and spirits were soon eliminated, and then the Chancellor kept playing with hopes and fears in a manner positively cruel. Some shouted "tea," others cried for "tobacco," while he was slowly pointing out that each was good in its way, if taken in moderation. He prolonged the suspense in order to explain that he abstains from both, but likes to see others use them, and so on and so forth. At last he could keep the secret no longer. Tobacco was the favourite ("Shame," cried some) and there will be a reduction of 6d. a pound on unmanufactured tobacco, and a proportionate reduction on other sorts. Cigars do not benefit in any way. The speech of course concluded with a self-glorifying peroration about our greatness and wealth and strength. Indeed, there was the same bragging strain as last year. Then he made the Jubilee an excuse for pointing out how much better and greater we are than we were sixty years ago. This year he compared our magnificence with the comparative insignificance of Russia, Germany, and France put together. He cannot help that sort of thing.

I must not add much about the other incidents of the week, but I think a line should be spared for the adventures of poor Sir M. Bhownaggree. A determined attack had been made on the salary of the Lord Chancellor, and a division was taken. While the division was going on, shouts, nay yells, of laughter could be heard from the "Aye" lobby, and when the numbers had been announced, Mr. Labouchere rose and informed the Chairman that the member for North-East Bethnal Green had been in the "Aye" lobby, but had not voted. The Chairman said there was no means of compelling him to vote. "But cannot he be brought up to the table?" said Mr. Labouchere anxiously, as though he wished to see the poor member laid upon the table. The Chairman would not consent, and he quoted Mr. Speaker Peel's celebrated dictum about the "existence of means of escape." So everyone knew where Sir M. Bhownaggree had sought a temporary retreat.

Perhaps I should mention, too, that in the little desultory discussion which broke out after the Budget on Thursday, Sir H. Fowler took part. He pointed out that in spite of our enormous income and surplus, nothing whatever was to be done for India. He regretted this, especially as that great dependency had passed through a very bad time. He understood that the Indian Government would have to borrow £6,000,000, and as a matter of justice, right, and policy, this country should have shown India some consideration. He had hardly uttered these words when he fell back, and appeared for a few moments to be fainting. Sir William Harcourt half-supported him, and water was brought, and in a moment or two he resumed his speech. Sir Henry afterwards accounted for his indisposition by saying it was a sudden spasm of indigestion.

Monday was devoted chiefly to the Criminal Evidence Bill of the Government, which succeeded in getting all the lawyers of the House to assail each other hammer and tongs. In the end the closure had to be used to force the second reading through. On Tuesday private business "held the field" for a long time, and the first bit of work of the day was the best bit the House has done for a long time. A precious syndicate sought for powers by which it could seize and exploit for its own private profit the splendid site just below the Victoria Tower of the House of Lords. The Bill was resisted strenuously, and I felt that the House would reject it. I was not prepared, however, for so overwhelming a rejection. It was thrown, or rather flung, out by 336 to 84. It was not only out-argued in the House, but it had been "over-lobbyed" until members were sick of it.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

LORD G. HAMILTON AND THE NATU BROTHERS.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—In the debate on Mr. Herbert Roberts's amendment to the Address, Lord George Hamilton brought two specific charges against the Natu brothers in addition to the usual—and now too familiar—charge of sedition. One of these referred to the case of a nurse "who," said his lordship, "made a deposition that she had received a letter purporting to be signed by one of the brothers Natu, stating that it would be greatly to her detriment if she worked with the search party. Since receiving this letter she persisted in working in the search operations, and she had not had a midwifery case in the city in consequence."

It may be perfectly true that the nurse in question had no case of midwifery after the outbreak of plague in Poona. But who was responsible for this grave—and now national—calamity? Certainly neither the Natus nor any of the Poona Brahmins had anything to do with it, as the following statement will convince any reasonable person. This statement gives the numbers of births registered for the city of Poona for seven months, from December, 1896 (when the plague had not yet broken out and normal conditions obtained), to June, 1897 (the month previous to the arrest of the Natus and others):

Period of Registration.	No. of births Registered for the City of Poona.	Remarks.
Dec., 1896	310	No plague yet. Population normal, with slight influx from Bombay.
Jan., 1897	328	Plague appeared. Large influx from Bombay.
Feb., ,,	227	Plague increased. Exodus began.
March, ,,	174	Do. Search operations not yet at full work (for a whole month).
April, ,,	60	Military search parties at work throughout.
May, ,,	54	Military parties still at work.
June, ,,	37	Plague disappeared. Search parties almost withdrawn. *Officers murdered.*
July, ,,	—	The Natus and others arrested.

These figures speak for themselves. What sort of impression they will produce on the English mind when viewed in the light of the following facts it is impossible for me to say. These facts are (1) that there are over half-a-dozen "qualified" nurses in Poona, and the nurse in question is undoubtedly one of these; (2) that these nurses, on account of the large fees they demand, are called in only in cases of special difficulty when the indigenous country class (generally old women who have had no regular education in midwifery, but who have

learnt their work by long experience and are thoroughly relied upon in all cases of ordinary labour for a rupee or a-half) fail to give the necessary aid; (3) that, as the number of births fall, the number of cases of special difficulty must have also fallen, and thus reduced the chances of one of these ladies having midwifery cases; (4) that almost all the families—at least, all the ladies—who could afford the expense, left the city after the search operations were commenced in March; (5) that, therefore, the births registered after the search operations commenced took place among that class of people who remained, and it must be the poorest class who could not save themselves from the ravages of the plague and the oppression of the search parties, solely on account of their poverty; and, lastly, (7) that scarcity of food had exhausted the resources of all, and the poorer people were dying of starvation.

Your readers will see, then, that the complaint had no foundation in truth. As for the Government that entertains such complaints seriously, I consider them—but no, I must not entertain any feelings of disapprobation against them, but look on in silence when I cannot approve of their actions.

Yours, etc.,

Bombay, A Poona Brahmin.

March 27, 1898.

INDIA AND THE "REVIEW OF REVIEWS."

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—In your issue of April 22 I see that you appear to welcome "Mr. Stead's scheme to expose in England the abuses of Indian administration," adding that "the Indian Government . . . . knows better than to raise its finger against an English journal like the *Review of Reviews*." I am a warm friend of India, a sincere sympathiser in her wrongs, and supporter of her aspirations. I therefore hasten to remind you that sympathy and support are very unstable and dangerous unless they rest on solid principles of justice. Sympathy and support may be very welcome from any quarter, but some of us can find no comfort or strength in them when they come from one who, as the Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has been the champion and admirer of our contemporary Cecil Rhodes, the "Warren Hastings" of South Africa, the founder of a new "race and colour" dominance, and the lion of those colonies where Indian immigrants are received with taxes and stone-throwing.—Yours etc., George Ferdinands (M.D.).

Aberdeen, April 23, 1898.

[It is not quite easy to follow the argument of our correspondent. Our Note implied no particular opinion of Mr. Stead, whether for praise or blame. The point was that the *Review of Reviews* was published in London.—Ed. India.]

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, April 21. — Before General Woodford had an opportunity to present the Ultimatum from the United States, the Spanish Foreign Minister this morning addressed him a Note, stating that as the President had signed the Congress Resolutions, which impugned Spanish sovereignty in Cuba, and the Spanish Minister had left Washington, official relations between the two countries were broken off. General Woodford then handed over the interests of American subjects to the British *Chargé d'Affaires*, and left Madrid by the afternoon train. After his departure the Civil Governor of the capital complimented the crowd at the station on their decorous behaviour. At a Cabinet Council Señor Sagasta made a statement regarding the situation, which, he said, amounted to a state of war, and he added that General Woodford had been informed that the presentation of a Note of any description would be entirely useless.

From Washington it was stated that no delay in the contemplated hostile movement would be occasioned by the failure of General Woodford to deliver the Ultimatum. The North American Squadron was to start from Key West to establish a blockade of the harbour of Havana, and the naval force would be supported by troops, who would be despatched to Cuba when desired, and meanwhile they would proceed to Key West and other points on the Southern Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf coast. Now that the Army Volunteer Bill was passed by Congress the President would call out a hundred thousand men.

Friday, April 22.—President M'Kinley issued a proclamation announcing that, in conformity with the joint resolution of Congress, he deemed it necessary to set on foot and maintain a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, including, and ports between, Cardenas, Bahia Honda, and Cienfuegos on the south coast. An efficient force would be posted so as to prevent vessels entering or leaving the ports aforesaid. Neutral vessels attempting to enter or leave them would be duly warned, and on any further attempt would be captured, and neutral vessels lying in any of the ports at the time the blockade was established would be allowed thirty days to issue therefrom.—Congress passed the Bill authorising the President to call out volunteers, and it was signed this afternoon by the President.—General Woodford, the late United States Minister in Madrid, reached Paris this evening. There were one or two exciting incidents on his journey. At Valladolid great demonstrations were made by an excited crowd, and at Tolosa some police officers endeavoured to arrest the Minister's secretary, Mr. Joaquin Moreno, alleging that he was a Spanish subject. General Woodford declared that Mr. Moreno was a British subject, warned the officials of the serious consequences that might follow if he were arrested, and declared that he would not surrender him unless force were used. The police officers then abandoned their attempt and left the train at San Sebastian.—The Spanish Government had called out 30,000 men of the reserve of 1897. Patriotic demonstrations took place yesterday and to-day in Madrid and many other places throughout Spain. The Queen-Regent, at the request of Señor Sagasta, consulted various leading politicians of all parties, who agreed that the present Cabinet should continue to confront the difficulties of the situation.—The greater part of the squadron stationed at Key West, though ordered to sail on Thursday evening, did not actually leave port till a little before six o'clock this morning. During the day the cruiser "Nashville" captured a Spanish merchant vessel, the "Buenaventura," from Texas, with lumber.—Marshal Blanco had issued at Havana a proclamation declaring Cuba to be in a state of war, and last evening there was a demonstration in front of his palace.

Saturday, April 23.—It was stated that President M'Kinley would send a Message to Congress on Monday asking that a formal declaration of war with Spain might be made. He had issued a proclamation calling for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers to serve two years. It was announced in Congress that General Miles purposed effecting a landing in Cuba, but that it would take from six weeks to two months to equip the volunteer army. An expedition was to leave Tampa next week for a point on the Cuban coast to land war supplies for the insurgents under Maximo Gomez. An American ship was despatched to cut the cables between Spain and Cuba.

In Madrid scenes of excitement were produced by reports of American vessels being captured by Spaniards, followed by anxiety and disappointment when the news came of the arrival of the American fleet off Havana. A royal decree was published setting forth that, whilst Spain reserved her right and liberty of action as regards privateers in the future, she would for the present conform to the wishes of the European Powers, and observe the rules laid down in the Declaration of Paris for the protection of private property on the high seas. The treaties and conventions with the United States were annulled, and five days were allowed to American ships to leave Spanish ports.

When the United States fleet was first seen off Havana, the signal guns fired from the fortress produced much excitement in the city. Generals and commanding officers hastened to the Palace, the troops and volunteers promptly mustered at their quarters, and nearly fifty thousand men were soon under arms in Havana, and others near the city. The troops and fortifications were inspected by Marshal Blanco. The American steamer "Saratoga" was allowed to leave the harbour, although the news of the capture of the "Buenaventura" by the Americans was known there. Two Spanish steamers were captured and taken to Key West. A telegram from the flagship said that to-night ten shots were fired from Morro Castle, but were not effective. The fire was not returned.

A Parliamentary paper of "Correspondence respecting the Affairs of China" was issued containing despatches dealing with Chinese questions for a period of some months down to the beginning of April. The more important despatches related to the Chinese cessions to Russia, the protests of Great Britain against the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, and the British acquisition of Wei-hai-wei.

Mr. H. H. Asquith delivered an address to the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, on "Criticism." He contended that there was no necessary antithesis between criticism and production, that criticism had a positive as well as a negative function. Its true business was to know and point out the best, and thus create a current of fresh ideas. The most fatal defect in a critic's equipment was the lack of imaginative insight, while true criticism ought always to be catholic and impersonal.

Sunday, April 24.—A bulletin issued this morning announced that Mr. Gladstone's condition was one of increasing weakness, though he was more free from pain.

Monday, April 25.—President M'Kinley sent a Message to Congress, the main object of which was to ask that body to declare that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. The President held that by notifying to General Woodford the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries before he was able to present the "reasonable demands" of the United States Government embodied in the ultimatum, the Spanish Government was responsible for beginning the war. As soon as the Message reached the House of Representatives, a Bill which had already been prepared, declaring that a state of war with Spain had existed since April 21, and directing and empowering the President to use the military and naval forces of the Republic to carry the war to a successful conclusion, was presented and unanimously passed. It was sent to the Senate, which also unanimously

adopted it, and it was signed by the President this evening.—Mr. Sherman resigned the Secretaryship of State. It was understood that he would be succeeded by Mr. Day, the Assistant-Secretary. Mr. Roosevelt resigned the Assistant-Secretaryship of the Navy. The cable between Havana and Key West was picked up by a United States Government vessel. A strict Press censorship was established at Key West, and precautions were taken to prevent newspaper boats from following the squadron off Havana. Precautions were taken to regulate the egress and entrance of vessels at New York harbour.—The latest reports as to the Spanish squadron at St. Vincent indicated that they had not yet left that port, but were still waiting for orders. It was reported that five warships were on Saturday morning seen passing Port au Prince, Hayti.—The capture of two or three more Spanish vessels by the blockading squadron off Havana was reported. On Saturday the "New York" gave chase to a foreign warship which proved to be an Italian cruiser.

The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* said that the southern portion of Ta-lien-wan, like Port Arthur, was to be an exclusive naval base, unopened to foreign merchant vessels; that fortifications had already been begun at Ta-lien-wan, and a dock was designed.

TUESDAY, April 26.—It was announced that the Spanish Government on Monday addressed a Circular to the Great Powers, supplementing that of the 18th inst. It embodied a statement of the Spanish case, accusing the United States of constantly aiding the Cuban insurgents by the despatch of filibustering expeditions and other methods, and of "paralysing all efforts at reconciliation" as soon as President M'Kinley perceived that the concession of autonomy was likely to restore peace to the island. The real motive of the United States was declared to be annexation.—The Cortes in Madrid were constituted on Monday. Questioned regarding the attitude of the Government towards privateering, Señor Sagasta said Spain's present standpoint was the same as that adopted by her prior to the Treaty of Paris.—A despatch from St. Vincent stated that the Spanish squadron was still there to-day, and was taking in coals and stores.—The appearance of the blockading squadron led to a great exodus from Havana. The price of meat in the city had already been more than doubled.—President M'Kinley issued a proclamation allowing Spanish vessels in United States ports till May 21 to effect their clearance. The proclamation also stated that the right of search was only to be exercised with strict regard for the convenience of neutrals, and that mail steamers were not to be interfered with except on the clearest ground of suspicion.—The Spanish ships which had already been captured were not to be given up, but to be held pending the decision of the Prize Courts.—Mr. Day's nomination as Secretary of State was sent by President M'Kinley to the Senate in Washington to-day, and at once confirmed. Most of the State Governments had already answered the President's call for volunteers.—The "Mangrove," an American lighthouse tender, captured the Spanish trans-Atlantic steamship "Panama."

A *London Gazette* Extraordinary issued to-night contained the Proclamation of Neutrality issued by her Majesty's Government in respect to the present war between the United States and Spain.

It was stated that the Japanese Government had obtained from China an undertaking that she would not alienate the province of Fokien, opposite to the island of Formosa.

WEDNESDAY, April 27.—It was reported that in the Chamber in Madrid on Tuesday the Finance Minister brought forward the Budget, which estimated a surplus on ordinary income and expenditure of 506,095 pesetas. The extraordinary Budget was extended for two years, the special navy credit being increased to 90,000,000 pesetas. To provide the necessary resources, the Government purposed to issue Treasury bonds up to 100,000,000 pesetas, guaranteed by the Almaden quicksilver mines; to issue further bonds guaranteed by the "general resources of the nation;" to negotiate advances with the State monopoly companies; to enforce a year's payment in advance of the land and industrial taxes; to double the floating debt; and to convert the bonds of the External Debt into Internal stock.—Private despatches from Cuba stated that 500 men, half of whom were Americans and the remainder insurgents, had landed at Guanabacoa, and a column of troops had been despatched to check their advance.—The first two prisoners taken during the war, a Spanish infantry lieutenant and his orderly, were taken out of a schooner off Matanzas to-day by an American cruiser, and sent on board the flagship. They were released on parole, and landed under a flag of truce.—Lieutenant Rowan, of the 19th United States Infantry, had landed on the south-east coast of Cuba, and would proceed to the camp of the insurgent chief Calixto Garcia to arrange for the co-operation of the insurgents in the event of an American invasion.—The United States squadron sailed from Hong-kong this afternoon, direct for Manila. The British cruiser "Immortalité" was to follow.—The French declaration of neutrality in the war appeared in the *Journal Officiel* of Paris this morning. It was practically identical with those issued on the occasion of the Chino-Japanese war.—The American ship "Shenandoah," which was said to have been aptured off the English coast by a Spanish cruiser, was spoken all well on Tuesday evening by a Cork steamer.

The bulletin issued to-night at Hawarden reported:—"Mr. Gladstone, though he did not sleep very well, has been easier to-day, and has not complained of pain."

It was announced that the delegates of the Powers had fixed May 2 as the date of the announcement of the Greek indemnity loan, and May 10 as the date of issue. The evacuation of Thessaly should therefore, according to the terms of the treaty of peace, begin on May 2.

THURSDAY, April 28.—At last the feverish expectations of newspaper readers were, for the moment, gratified. It was reported from Key West that on Wednesday the United States cruisers "New York" and "Cincinnati" and the monitor "Puritan" bombarded Matanzas forts. The engagement began at a quarter to one in the afternoon and lasted half an hour. The object of the attack was to prevent the completion of the earthworks at Punta Gorda. The battery to the east of the arm of the bay opened fire on the flag-ship "New York," and was shelled in return. About 300 shots were fired at the forts from the ships at a range of from 4,000 to 7,000 yards. Admiral Sampson, in reply to a question as to whether he was satisfied with the result of the bombardment said "Yes, I am; I expected to be." The half-completed Spanish earthworks and the battery were apparently all ploughed up by the shells. Nothing was definitely known regarding the loss of life on the Spanish side, but the belief on the American men-of-war was that the enemy's casualties were considerable.

INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote on April 21:—It cannot be said that the full text of Sir James Westland's recent Indian Budget statement, and the usual voluminous and complicated series of accounts by which it is accompanied, do much to elucidate the facts already known. The essential features of the financial situation of India remain as indicated in our comments on the telegraphic summary received last month. The revised estimates for last year show revenue amounting to Rx. 96,479,200, as against an expenditure of Rx. 101,762,300, the deficit being Rx. 5,283,100, which has been referred to as the largest deficit yet shown by an Indian Budget. Of course it is explained that last year was a year of "calamities"—famine, plague, and war—and the Finance Minister has taken care to refer to the expenditure incurred in consequence as "extraordinary." It is in this fashion that he justifies the conclusion to which he has come, and which appears to be shared by the Home Government, that India and her finances are really in a most satisfactory condition. It is a fact that the accounts show that, had it not been for the famine and war expenditure, the year 1897-8 would have shown a surplus of Rx. 3,932,200. But really, according to the explanations given, the Indian Government has no right to treat these extra disbursements as extraordinary expenditure. Frequent failures of the crops have always been regarded as inevitable in a climate like that of India; and though irrigation may do something to mitigate their severity, they must be expected to recur. As for the plague, it is a very serious question whether it is not a direct consequence of the impoverishment of the people. It is at least remarkable that the Europeans in India apparently escape attack. As for the frontier wars, if we are to accept the reasons given in the Legislative Council in their justification, they are merely necessary police operations, and police operations should be treated as ordinary expenditure. It is estimated that, apart from the direct expenditure on famine relief during the past two fiscal years, amounting to Rx. 7,471,400, the mere losses of revenue and the charges falling on the Government in consequence of reduced railway receipts, higher cost of food for the army, and so on—excluding suspensions of land revenue amounting to Rx. 1,856,500, which it is hoped may ultimately be recovered—were equivalent to an extra cost to the Government of Rx. 6,766,900, making the total cost of the famine during the two years Rx. 14,238,200. Might not the whole of this sum, as well as a part, be with equal logic treated as "extraordinary expenditure"? The past two years having undoubtedly been marked by a "singular succession of calamities," much has been made of the fact that they have been passed without any recourse to increased taxation. But this would appear not to have been a matter of choice, since it has all along been contended that India has in recent years been taxed up to the limit of endurance. The deficiency during the last two years has only been met by heavy borrowing, involving an additional drain of India's resources for the payment of interest in this country. Moreover, even in what may be spoken of as the prosperous part of the period of twenty years reviewed by Sir James Westland, and made by his calculations to show an excess of Rx. 50,988,294 of income over expenditure, new taxes had to be repeatedly imposed, the latest being the reimposed cotton duties, and this is in itself a proof that even without war, famine, or plague India has not found it so easy to bear her increasing burdens as Sir James

Westland assumes. This fact alone may well justify hesitation in accepting his sanguine forecast for the immediate future.

Of course the Finance Minister lays the blame for all shortcomings on the fall in exchange. Thus, in dealing with the earnings of the railways, he points out that at the beginning of the twenty years' period the annual Government loss on the railways was about Rx. 1,500,000, and that now it may be taken as Rx. 2,000,000, but finds, apparently, much comfort in the reflection that "owing to the depreciation of the rupee" it now takes Rx. 1,000,000 net earnings more than it did in 1878 to pay the interest on the sterling railway capital as it stood in that year. From this fact Sir James infers that the railway revenue has not only paid the interest charge on all the expenditure on railway construction since, but that it has actually met, to the extent of Rx. 500,000 per annum, part of the loss by exchange on the railway account. It is easy to be cheerful after this fashion, but the plain fact is that the Government loss has been increased at the same time that the traffic of the lines and the profits of the guaranteed shareholders have increased. Of course Sir James Westland proposes to correct the situation by the establishment of the gold standard in such a way as to ensure stability of exchange for the future or for a portion of the future. The question is whether the proposals for attaining this object, which have already been sent home for the consideration of Lord George Hamilton's new Currency Committee, will not, if carried into effect, destroy the very conditions which have favoured increased production and exportation, and consequently increased railway traffic, in India. An interesting detail in the Budget statement is to the effect that the demand for the new British silver dollars—coined at the Indian mints—on account of the Straits and other Eastern settlements has considerably exceeded expectations, and has brought high receipts to the mints for coinage. It might have been thought that this little fact would have opened the eyes of statesmen and others to the advantages of free silver currency in the East, and to the danger of repressing it; but, according to recent reports, even the Straits Settlements are beginning to demand the gold standard. As regards the famine expenditure, the greatest increase is shown to have been in the Central Provinces and Madras, where the Chief Commissioner found the people "in a more poverty-stricken condition than even he had expected."

During the debate on the Budget in the Legislative Council, a report of which has now reached us, Mr. Allan Arthur, who is the president of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, referred to the Budget as having been rightly described as a "prosperity Budget." Of course the basis of the hopes thus indicated has been the improvement in the Indian crops. But even Mr. Arthur pointed out that the increase in the aggregate of India's trade since the closing of the mints had only been 5½ per cent., as against 24 per cent. in the period 1882-5, a comparison which he did not think satisfactory, taking into account the railway development meanwhile. Mr. Arthur further argued that the vast sums which had disappeared in loss by exchange "would have been better spent in reducing taxation and in giving India absolute and permanent fixity of exchange with the other great commercial countries of the world, thereby attracting capital for developing the great natural resources of this fertile land," a remark which suggests that the speaker is at present convinced that fixity of exchange is the one thing needed. Nevertheless, Mr. Arthur himself went on to say that he could "imagine no greater tax or burden on the trade or industries of a country than a high and prolonged high bank rate," and to complain that the rate in India—now 13 per cent.—had been "9 per cent. or over" since December last. Now such high bank rates are the inevitable accompaniments of the gold standard policy. It is admitted too that the "prosperity Budget" includes new loan proposals, one of which is for a rupee loan of 30,000,000 rupees, which, Mr. Arthur himself suggested, the Government will be unable to issue in India, except at a price "which no strong Government dare, for the sake of its own credit, accept;" a loan, moreover, which must, if issued, tend to increase the existing stringency. The reply of Sir James Westland on the debate leaves no doubt as to what the new Currency Committee is to be instructed to do. Sir James declared that he had "authority to say definitely on behalf of the Government of India" that the silver standard was now a thing of the past; that no return to open mints was possible; and that the Government had "determined to set their face against it." This declaration, it must be remembered, is directly in the teeth of the representations of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Planters' Associations of India, and other Indian authorities; and it comes from an official who must be held responsible for the reversal of the policy of all his predecessors, and for the failure of the Franco-American solution, by international agreement to which the Imperial Government was pledged. All experts know that the plan proposed implies an ever-increasing burden of gold debt on the shoulders of our Indian fellow-subjects, and constantly recurring periods of paralysing monetary stringency. This, it appears, if the present ignorant and futile policy is to have its way, is the pleasant prospect before us. If our Government in India comes to be seriously endangered it will be as the direct result of economic folly such as this.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, April 21.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE EXECUTION OF DAMODHAR CHAPEKHAR.
WHY CONTINUE THE PUNITIVE FORCE AT POONA?

With reference to the question reported in our issue of last week, the following supplementary question was asked:—

Sir W. Wedderburn asked whether the police were not placed in Poona because the person who committed the murder had not been discovered.

Lord G. Hamilton said there were various reasons for placing the force of police, but the hon. member was not quite correct in the conclusion he had drawn.

INDIA AND THE BUDGET.
SUDDEN ILLNESS OF SIR H. FOWLER.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks Beach), introducing his Budget, said: When, in 1896, it was my duty to place before the Committee an account of the financial condition of the country, I thought I could account for the great surplus beyond the right hon. gentleman's estimates by pointing to an exceptional year. Since then each year we have had greater proof of the activity of trade, the high spending power of the masses, the increasing profits of the nation, the steady accumulation of wealth. There are no signs at present that the limit has been reached. It is true that last year's records of foreign trade are in some respects not all that could be desired. But on the whole, both in value and in volume, it has increased, and if fair allowance be made for the contraction of business due to temporary causes, such as the failure of crops in India, the Argentine, and Australia, and labour difficulties at home, I think we have no cause to complain of any inability to keep pace with our commercial rivals.

At a later point in his speech, the right hon. gentleman said: For the immediate future I own that I am sanguine. We have full employment for our people if they will only take it. (Hear, hear.) We have good prospects for the coming year of our foreign trade, for any disturbance in the Western Hemisphere will, I think, be more than compensated by the improvement in the condition of India, and by the result of events which have recently occurred in the Far East. (Cheers.)

Sir Henry Fowler, in the course of his speech, said that when he heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer tell the story of our enormous income and expenditure, he could not help thinking of the case of our largest and greatest dependency which had passed through so terrible a year of famine and war. But no proposal was made in the shape of relief on behalf of India. (Cheers.) He understood that, in order to make both ends meet, the Indian Government would have to borrow £6,000,000; and it was a matter of justice, right, and policy that in these circumstances this country should have shown some consideration towards India. (At this point of his speech the right hon. gentleman appeared to be seized with sudden faintness. He suddenly sat down, drew his hand across his eyes, and leaned back, Sir William Harcourt momentarily supporting him. The attack, however, speedily passed off, and the right hon. gentleman resumed his speech.)

Friday, April 22.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulation; from Totterdown, Wilmslow (two), Falmouth, Morley, Inverness, Glasgow (three), Moseley and Edgbaston, and Dulwich (two); to lie upon the Table.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.
RETURN PRESENTED.

East India (Financial Statement), 1898-9,—Return presented,—relative thereto [Address April 21; Sir Henry Fowler]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 168].

"BARBAROUS" BULLETS.

Mr. Davitt asked the Under-Secretary of State for War whether his attention had been directed to the statements, attributed to Dr. von Brums, in a paper on "Inhuman Weapons of War," read a few days ago at the German Surgical Congress, to the effect that the Dum-dum bullets, used by British troops in the North-West frontier of India, produced fearful results on the human body, and that Germany should try to obtain a condemnation from the European Powers of the further use of such bullets:

Whether any steps would be taken to meet these views:

And whether he would forbid the sale of these bullets by British makers to the belligerents in the Spanish-American war.

Mr. Powell Williams: I have no knowledge of the statements referred to or of the paper mentioned. I think the general ideas as to the effect of the Dum-dum bullet are very much exaggerated. It is nothing like so severe as that of the bullets which have been previously employed.

Mr. Dillon: Has the hon. member acquainted himself with the result of any experiments made by medical men or surgeons as to the effect of this bullet?

Mr. Powell Williams: Yes; the English medical officers of the army have been shown the results of the use of this bullet, and their opinion is that which is indicated in the answer I have given.

PILGRIMS AND THE PLAGUE.

Sir Walter Foster asked the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign

affairs, whether, in view of the reappearance of plague in Jeddah this year, her Majesty's Government intended to take any steps to stop the pilgrimage to Mecca from British possessions and from Egypt.

Mr. Balfour: It has been found unnecessary to take steps to prohibit the pilgrimage, so far as British Indian subjects are concerned, as the Government of India reports by telegraph that no more Indian pilgrims will leave India for the Hedjaz this season. As regards Malay pilgrims it was decided, when the first outbreak of plague at Jeddah was notified, that it was already too late to prohibit the pilgrimage, as all intending pilgrims for this year's Haj had already left the Straits Settlements. With reference to Egypt, the question is one which directly concerns the Egyptian Government, but her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo reports that intending pilgrims have been warned of the danger from plague, and informed that those who persist in going in face of this warning will be required to sign a declaration that they will not return to Egypt until the complete disappearance of the plague, and steps have been taken to prevent such return.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S SALARY.

In Committee of Supply, on the vote for the House of Lords offices.

Mr. Weir complained of the dual office-holders in the House of Lords, and moved the reduction of the salary of the Lord Chancellor by £4,000.

While the division was being taken, loud laughter was heard in the "Aye" lobby. The figures having been announced,

Mr. Labouchere, who rose amid laughter and cheers, said: Mr. Chairman, I wish to call your attention to what took place in the lobby just now. The hon. gentleman the Member for North-East Bethnal-Green (Sir M. M. Bhownaggree) was in the "Aye" lobby and did not vote. (Laughter.)

The Chairman: There is no method of compelling an hon. member to vote.

Mr. Labouchere: Could he not be brought up to the table (laughter), which is actually done sometimes?

The Chairman: A decision was given by the late Speaker which solved such difficulties which had arisen up to that time. (Laughter.) I think his decision was that a member who did not wish to vote could not be compelled to vote. I have heard it said there are means of escape. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

Monday, April 25.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases).—Petitions against State regulation from Glasgow (two), Kelvinside, Perth, and Paignton; to lie upon the Table.

THE INDIAN MINTS.

Mr. Sharpe asked the Secretary to the Treasury, if he would furnish a statement showing the number of rupees coined and issued from her Majesty's mint during each year since the date of the closing of the Indian mints.

Lord G. Hamilton: Since the closing of the Indian mints no rupees have been coined and added to the circulation, with the exception of those which were produced from the silver that was on its way to India at the time when they were closed. These amounted to Rx. 1,918,725. A small number of rupees have also been recoined for Native States.

DECORATIONS FOR THE WAR BEYOND THE FRONTIER.

Major Rasch asked the Secretary of State for India, whether some distinctive decoration would be issued to the troops who were engaged at Dargai, Senssagha, Arbanga, and the march down the Bava Valley, in the Tirah campaign.

Lord G. Hamilton: The question of the decorations to be granted to the troops engaged in the recent operations in India is now under consideration, but I am not at present in a position to state what their character will be.

THE NEW CURRENCY PROPOSALS.

Sir W. Houldsworth asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that failures had taken place in India owing to the stringency of money there; and whether, in view of the great anxiety felt by those in this country engaged in the trade with India, he was now able to publish the terms of the new currency proposals of the Indian Government.

Lord G. Hamilton: In reply to my hon. friend, I have no information tending to corroborate the first statement of my hon. friend's question; and as regards the currency proposals of the Indian Government, I hope to be able to publish them, as well as the names of the Committee, in the course of the present week.

Tuesday, April 26.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases).—Petitions against State regulations from York (two), Ayr, Glasgow, Largs, Glendale, St. Leonards, Cray, Jarrow (six), and Edinburgh (two); to lie upon the Table.

THE PUNITIVE POLICE AT POONA. THE "REASONS" AND THE COST.

Sir William Wedderburn asked the Secretary of State for India what were the reasons recorded by the Government of Bombay for imposing upon the City of Poona a punitive police costing 230,400 rupees;

Whether the cost of that police added about 50 per cent. to the burden of municipal taxation:

And whether the finances of Poona were in a condition to sustain that additional burden.

Lord G. Hamilton: The reasons recorded by the Government of Bombay for imposing a punitive police on the City of Poona were "that the conduct of the inhabitants of Poona renders it expedient temporarily to increase the strength of the police in the said city."

According to the information at my disposal, the cost of this additional police force is a little over Rs. 115,207, being almost exactly half the sum stated in the honourable member's question, and involving an increase of municipal taxation, not by 50 per cent., but by about 30 per cent.

I have no reason to think that the resources of the inhabitants are unable to bear this increase.

Thursday, April 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases).—Petitions against State Regulation; from Weston-super-Mare, Largs, and Hebden Bridge; to lie upon the Table.

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE HOME TREASURY.

On the motion of Sir William Houldsworth a Return was granted for statement showing the disbursements of the Home Treasury of the Government of India in each year from 1894-5 to 1897-8, inclusive, and the mode in which provision was made for these disbursements (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 193, of Session 1895).

THE COERCIVE ACTS IN INDIA. PAPERS WITHHELD FROM PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India when the Papers concerning the Plague in India would be issued:

And, when he would lay upon the Table of the House the Acts recently passed in India dealing with the Indian Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, and the Post Office.

Lord G. Hamilton: The papers in question were laid on the Table on March 24, and copies were issued to members of the House nearly three weeks ago. As regards the other papers asked for, they will be presented so soon as the acts referred to have been considered by the Secretary of State in Council.

SIR H. MAINE AND THE NATIVE STATES. MINUTES NOT TO BE PUBLISHED.

Mr. Pickersgill asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any objection to present to Parliament such of the official minutes of the late Sir Henry Maine, respecting the relations between the British Government and the Indian feudatory states, as could now be published without detriment to the public service.

Lord G. Hamilton: A selection of the minutes of Sir Henry Maine on the subjects referred to in the hon. member's question were reproduced in the "Life and Speeches of Sir Henry Maine," published by Mr. John Murray in 1892. Those minutes which on account of their comparative unimportance or of their confidential nature, were omitted from that collection should not, in my opinion, be published.

The following notices of motion appear in the order-book of the House of Commons:—

Mr. Herbert Roberts,—On Second Reading of India Office (Store Depôt) Bill, to move, That it be read a second time upon this day six months.

Mr. Herbert Lewis,—On Second Reading of India Office (Store Depôt) Bill, to move, That it be read a second time upon this day six months.

Secretary Lord George Hamilton,—After Second Reading of India Office (Store Depôt) Bill, to move, That the Bill be committed to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection:

That all Petitions against the Bill presented three clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill:

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records:

That Three be the quorum.

Sir Joseph Pease,—Opium—To call attention to the trade between India and China in opium, and to move a resolution.

Mr. Pickersgill,—East India (Penal Code)—That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be pleased to disallow the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1898.

The Editor *of INDIA cannot hold himself responsible in any case for the return of MS. He will, however, always be glad to consider any contributions which may be submitted to him; and when postage stamps are enclosed every effort will be made to return rejected contributions promptly.—Address:* Editor *of INDIA, 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W.*

Copies of INDIA can be obtained from the Offices of the Paper; from Mr. Elliot Stock, *Paternoster Row, London, E.C.; and to order at any Railway Bookstall.*

ET CAETERA.

The P. and O. s.s. "Massilia," which leaves London for Calcutta, on May 6, takes the following passengers:—Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Acton, Mr. Bradbury, Mr. L. E. Evans, Mr. Robert Johnston, and Mr. J. Brockie.

The s.s. "Oriental" (P. and O.) leaves London for Bombay on May 12. Among other passengers are Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Aspinall, Captain and Mrs. Lafone, Colonel Porcelli, Captain Gower, Colonel W. W. Campbell, and Mr. and Mrs. M. R. Jardine.

The "Oriental," from Bombay, arrived at Brindisi on April 22, the following being among her passengers:—Sir Salter Pyne, Brigadier-General Nicholson, Colonel and Mrs. Wolseley Jenkins, Sir A. Mackenzie, Sir W. Lockhart, Hon. Sir G. Evans, Major-General H. F. Grant, and Major Wyndham.

The British India Steam Navigation Company's s.s. "Rewa" leaves London on April 29 with the following passengers:—Miss Aicken, Mr. E. Richards, Mr. A. Elliott, Mr. J. Matthews, Mr. E. Robinson, and Mr. G. M. Morris (for Madras), and Mr. R. Campbell (for Calcutta).

The P. and O. s.s. "Massilia," which arrived in London from Calcutta, on April 17, had the following amongst her passengers:—General Sir George and Lady White, Captain Agnew, Major-General Craster, Lieut.-General Sir N. and Lady Hume, Hon. C. D. Ryder and three daughters, and Lady Mary Crosse.

The "Caledonia" (P. and O. s.s.) left London for Bombay on April 28. Her list of passengers includes the following:—Lieut. G. N. Porteath, Lieut. Cassel, Captain Hatherell, Lieut. F. C. Reiley, Captain A. L. Winslow, Captain G. C. Cawood, and Colonel C. Thornhill.

The Messageries Maritimes s.s. "Yarra" left Marseilles on April 10 for Calcutta. Mr. C. Schrokky and Mr. P. P. Pillai were included in her list of passengers.

The British India Steam Navigation Co.'s s.s. "Rewa," leaving London on April 29, has the following passengers for Colombo:—Mr. Mohamed Ali Khan and Mr. J. Wilding. For Madras:—Miss Wilson, Miss B. M. Vane and Miss M. Vane. For Calcutta:—Mr. W. Francis.

Sir William Lockhart, lately commanding in the field in the Tirah, reached Victoria Station on Monday evening. On Tuesday he visited the India Office and saw the Secretary of State, General Sir O. R. Newmarch, and other officials, with whom he exchanged cordial greetings. He declared himself to be in the best of health, and is reported to have expressed the belief that the troubles on (*sic*) the North-West Frontier were practically at an end for the present.

The Queen has been pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon Mr. Louis Addin Kershaw, Q.C., on his appointment to the office of Chief Justice of the High Court of Allahabad. Mr. Kershaw, who is the only son of Mr. Matthew Kershaw, of Maple Grange, Wallingford, Pennsylvania, and Luddenden, Yorkshire, was an undergraduate of Pembroke College, Oxford. He entered as a student of the Inner Temple in 1869, and was called to the Bar three years later. He joined the North-Eastern Circuit, of which he became one of the leaders, on his taking silk in 1895.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., a former member of St. John's College, Oxford, has been elected an Honorary Fellow of that society.

It is announced that the Rev. James MacArthur, M.A., vicar of All Saints', South Acton, has been appointed Bishop of Bombay in succession to Dr. L. G. Mylne, who resigned in January last. It is a curious fact that within a period of six years All Saints', South Acton, has provided two Colonial Bishops. In 1892 the then vicar, the Rev. A. Hunter Dunn, M.A., was appointed to the see of Quebec, and Mr. MacArthur succeeded him in South Acton. The new Bishop is said to be very popular in his parish. He is the chairman of the Acton School Board, and one of the rural Deans of Middlesex. The newly appointed Bishop will rule over a diocese which includes the whole of Bombay (except Sind) and Aden. His annual allowance will be 25,600 rupees (nominally about £1,200) a year.

Truth says that the announcement of this appointment "has been received in Church circles with unbounded surprise and extreme disapproval. Lord George Hamilton has obliged an influential constituent; but Mr. MacArthur is an ecclesiastic who is absolutely unknown outside the boundaries of his own parish, and it cannot be pretended that he possesses any special qualifications whatever for an Indian See, unless entire and absolute ignorance of India is a recommendation in the eyes of the Secretary of State. It would have been very much better to appoint a divine who has had some experience of India, and who would therefore possess a certain amount of knowledge of the peculiar nature of the work which has to be done there."

A curious fact about the Rev. J. MacArthur, the new Bishop of Bombay, is that after leaving the University of Glasgow he studied for the Bar and was actually called. Subsequently, however, he threw up the Law and turned to the Church, with the result that in vigorous middle life he finds himself Bishop of the second most important see in India.

A new edition of Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Remarks on the Use and Abuse of some Political Terms" is in preparation at the Clarendon Press. It is edited, with an introduction and notes, by Mr. Thomas Raleigh, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls.

Some confusion is likely to arise out of the dual personality of Mr Winston Churchill. The author of "The Celebrity" is quite distinct from the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, who recently wrote the story of the Malakand Field Force, and was mentioned in the despatches to the War Office. The former is a graduate of the States Naval Academy at Annapolis; he quitted the sea for newspaper work in New York.

We are shortly to have from Lord Farrer a volume which explains itself in the title, "Studies in Currency." It contains enquiries into certain modern problems connected with the standard of value and the media of exchange. That ought to give the work a broader interest than could pertain to any mere argument for bimetallism, or for the other case. But, of course, everybody who has followed Lord Farrer's magazine articles—the gist of which we are no doubt to get here—is aware that he opposes the theory of bimetallism.

After reading Sir Bindon Blood's despatch on the operations of the Buner Field Force, one can only conclude (says *Truth*) that the Commanders of the various Frontier forces have been engaged in a competition as to who shall compile the biggest list of officers for honourable mention. This may be an amusing game to the competitors, and highly gratifying to the officers who benefit by it, but the general result is to render "mention in despatches" a distinction devoid of all military value. Sir Bindon Blood's force, as no one will deny, did its work creditably and successfully; but it performed no exploit which has been heard of at home, except by a casual paragraph in the newspapers; its work was completed, as the covering letter of the Adjutant-General in India records, "*within twelve days from the commencement of operations*"; and the very name of the expedition will be forgotten in twelve months. Yet for this Sir Bindon Blood recommends to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief fifteen officers of the Divisional Staff, four in each of the Brigade Staffs, five on the line of communications, four at the base, sixteen officers of battalions and units, two medical officers, two officers of his personal staff, and three politicals—total, fifty-five names. Should we ever be engaged in a serious war, every soldier in the Army will have been "mentioned" before peace is concluded.

It is not quite easy (says the *Pioneer*) to understand how Sir James Westland arrives at the sum Rx. 1,490,000 earmarked in the Budget for "continuance of war expenditure." In Paragraph 31 of the Budget Statement we have the following: "The result, with reference to the estimate above mentioned (*i.e.*, the estimate for the operation on the North-West frontier), is that the total expenditure on account of the monthly charges has exceeded what we anticipated, but there has been a large saving on terminal charges, only, however, by reason of their passing into the accounts of 1898-99. We estimate now that we shall spend Rx. 3,823,500 in 1897-98, and a further sum of Rx. 1,488,500 in 1898-99. This last estimate has been drawn up on the supposition that there would be a spring campaign lasting three months, followed by what I have called the terminal charges of the expedition. Although preparations continue to be made for that three months' campaign, the prospects of peace being concluded without it are, at the present time, very favourable, and, if so, there will be some saving upon the expenditure now estimated for 1898-99." From this the average reader would understand that at least a large part of this sum of Rx. 1,488,500 was estimated in case of the necessity of a spring campaign; but if we turn to Sir Edwin Collen's memorandum we read: "With regard to the charge for field operations, it may be explained that this sum includes Rx. 1,355,000 to meet arrear charges of the current year likely to be adjusted in 1898-99, and expenditure on account of the Tirah Expeditionary Force for next year, calculated on the supposition that the existing force will be in the field till the end of June. But if the operations are speedily brought to a close, there will be a saving of expenditure amounting to about 16¼ lakhs. This comparatively small reduction is owing to the necessity for keeping a certain force on a field footing and for extra transport." Thus, whether we have a spring expedition or not, the full amount, Rx. 1,488,500, will be spent less the insignificant amount of 16¼ lakhs. This is obviously a point on which some further explanation might be given. What is the number of the "certain force" which is to be kept on a field footing, even if no spring campaign takes place?

Mr. James Routledge, who died last Monday, at the age of 68, at Ferryside, near Llanelly, South Wales, where he had lived for some years past, was in his day an active and well-known journalist. He began his career in the North of England, but soon went to Calcutta, where he edited the *Friend of India*, and also acted as correspondent to the *Times*. His connexion with the latter journal continued for a short time after his return to England; but before long he was appointed editor of the *Dundee Advertiser*. He edited also at different periods the *Western Daily Mercury* and papers in Swansea and Manchester.

Recent Parliamentary Papers.—Copy of the Despatch addressed by the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company to the Governments of Bengal and Madras on April 25, 1806, dealing with the coinage of India (2d.).

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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2. Dacca	Dacca District	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, Pleader, Rajar Deory, Dacca.
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15. Chutia-Nagpur	Chutia-Nagpur Division	Rai Jodu Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Hazaribagh.
16. Behar	Patna Division (excluding the Muzaffarpur and Gaya Districts)	Babu Banwari Lal, Patna City.
17. Muzaffarpur	Muzaffarpur District	Babu Shorashi Charan Mitra, Pleader, Muzaffarpur.
18. Gaya	Gaya District	Babus Nand Kishore Lal and Upendra Chandra Mittra, Gaya.
19. N.-W. Provinces	North-Western Provinces	Secretary, Standing Committee, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.
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Cawnpur	Cawnpur District	Pandit Perthi Nath, Cawnpur.
Bareilly	Bareilly District	The Secretary, Congress Committee, Bareilly.
Moradabad	Moradabad District	N. C. Bose, Esq., Moradabad.
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Agra	Agra Division	Babu Tulsi Ram Misra, Mursan, Dist. Aligarh.
Allahabad	All places in the N.W.P. not above enumerated	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sec. for the N.-W. P. Circle, Allahabad.
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25. Surat	Surat and Broach Districts, with Baroda	Hardevram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq., and Bhagubai Dayabhai, Esq., Surat.
26. Sholapur	Sholapur District	Vishem R. Lele, Esq., Sholapur.
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28. Belgaum	Belgaum District	V. A. Natu, Esq., District Assoc., Belgaum.
29. Dharwar	Dharwar District	Sec., Standing Congress Committee, Dharwar, and Raghunath A. Sule, Esq., Hubli.
30. Satara	Satara District	Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, Esq., High Court Pleader, Satara.
31. Ahmadnagar	Ahmadnagar District	Shankar Gangadhar Ranade, Mohenlal Hiralal and Kashinath Vinayak Bhawe, Pleaders, Ahmadnagar.
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